ERRATA.

Page 4, line 8 from the bottom, for "including," read "exclusive of."

Page 4, line 6 from bottom, for "only $26,000," read "only about $29,000."

APPENDIX A.—Page 5, line 20 from the top, for "1838," read "1833."

THIRTY-FOURTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY;

AND THE ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

January 21, 1851.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SENTIMENTS OF THE PRESS; MEMORIALS TO CONGRESS IN FAVOR OF STEAMSHIPS TO AFRICA; COMMERCE OF AFRICA; A TABLE EXHIBITING THE COST OF COLONIZATION; AND A TABLE OF EMIGRANTS.

WASHINGTON:
C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,
F STREET, NEAR NAVY DEPARTMENT.
1851.

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THIRTY-FOURTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

January 21st, 1851.

Death of Vice Presidents of this Society.

Since our last Annual Meeting, four of the Vice Presidents of this Society have departed this life.

We never had a warmer friend or more devoted supporter than the late John Ker, M. D., of Natchez, Miss. He died in January last. On receiving intelligence of his death, the Executive Committee adopted the following tribute to his memory:

"It is with sentiments of heartfelt sorrow that we have heard of the death of our valued friend and fellow laborer for Africa's welfare. By this bereavement, society has lost an accomplished gentleman, the cause of benevolence a bright and able advocate, and the church an exemplary and noble Christian. His devotion to the interests of this Society was worthy of all commendation. One of its earliest friends and contributors, there was no sacrifice which he was not ready to make for it; no labor demanding zeal, talent and efficiency, which he was not ready to perform. Long should the "Ross slaves," now freemen in Liberia, cultivate sentiments of the liveliest gratitude to him, as the chief instrument of their redemption; and long may we cherish an affectionate remembrance of his eminent private and public virtues, and his distinguished exertions in the cause of humanity!

"We tender to his family our warmest sympathy in their deep affliction."

Jonathan Hyde, Esq., of Bath, Maine, died the 18th of October, 1850. He was one of the earliest and most steadfast friends of this Society. He was a man of liberal and enlarged spirit, and an exemplary supporter of all religious and benevolent institutions. But "a thorough investigation of the subject, (he said,) had long settled his mind in a sober and conscientious judgment that the Colonization enterprise presented to the Christian philanthropist the most urgent claims of any of the numerous charities of the day." He had, therefore, with the increase of years, even under the infirmities of age, exhibited an increase of zeal and exertions in its behalf as Secretary and Treasurer of the Colonization Society of Bath and vicinity.

Death of Vice Presidents of this Society.

The Rev. CORNELIUS C. CUYLER, D. D., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, an eminent clergyman and pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in that city, died the 31st of September, 1850, leaving behind him the fairest reputation for purity of character and uprightness of life. He was ever the warm friend of this Society and the zealous and efficient laborer for its advancement. Many are the friends whom his able advocacy won for it, and long will respect and affection gather around his name, in remembrance of the gentleness of his manner and the unanswerableness of his arguments in its behalf.

JOHN MCDONOGH, of New Orleans, died on the 26th of October, in the 71st year of his age. He bequeathed to this Society the most magnificent legacy which it has ever had the good fortune to receive. The following extract from his will, indicates the character of this bequest:

"Firstly, I give and bequeath to the American Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, established at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, for the purpose of its noble and philanthropic institution, an annuity for the term of forty years, counting from and after the day of my decease, of the one-eighth part, or twelve and a half per cent. of the net yearly revenue of rents of the whole of the estate, as hereinbefore willed and bequeathed unto the Mayor, Aldermen and inhabitants of the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore, but which one-eighth part of the net yearly revenue of rents of said estate, as aforesaid, shall not entitle the said American Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, to receive or demand, in any one year, a larger sum than twenty-five thousand dollars, should the one-eighth part thereof amount to a larger sum; trusting in full confidence that the inhabitants of this free and happy land, throughout all its borders, from Maine to Louisiana, will sustain this institution—one of the greatest glories of our country—and enable it to accomplish its humane and holy object in its full extent."

As the validity of this will is to be vigorously contested, we fear it may be sometime before we shall receive the first payment to which it entitles us. We, however, have no doubt the bequest will ultimately be paid. The will is certainly an ably written document, alike creditable to the head and heart of the benevolent individual who left it as his last and only testament.

Mr. McDonogh has always been a devoted friend of colonization, and a liberal contributor to our funds. It will be remembered that several years ago, he liberated and sent to Liberia eighty-five of his slaves, whom he had been long training for the full enjoyment of freedom. In his will he also made provision for the colonization of the slaves whom he owned at his death.

He was always noted as a man of great activity and energy of char-

acter, and of rather peculiar habits. The following graphic description of him we extract from the New Orleans Picayune:

"The announcement yesterday evening of the death of John McDonogh took our city by surprise, and formed the sole subject of conversation wherever it was known. His long residence among us, his immense wealth, his peculiar habits, and appearance, had made his name familar, not only here but everywhere in the State, as a household word. He seemed to many a being apart from his fellow-men. While youth, and strength, and health and beauty were year after year struck down beside him, he moved on, tall, spare, erect, with sprightly step and look. Every school urchin recognized at a first glance the thin, sharp, intelligent face, the small sparkling brown eye, the long white hair, the neat, prim white cravat and high shirt collar, the well-preserved old hat and blue umbrella, and the never-to-be-worn-out old fashioned, tight-fitting blue cloth dress coat and pantaloons, and well polished shoes. We had gradually become impressed with the idea that John McDonogh would never die. He appeared as much an indestructable relic of our city's ancient history as the old State House or the old Cathedral.—One of those antique monuments has been razed to the ground; the other has thrown off its old vesture for a new one, and the third, John McDonogh, now lies ready for his last journey and his last resting place—the tomb."

In view of the death of so many eminent friends of the cause within a single year, we cannot forget how brief and uncertain is the period of human life, nor fail to be excited thereby to new diligence and energy in the prosecution of the great enterprise before us!

Our gratitude is due to the great Disposer of all events, for the gracious care with which he has watched over our affairs during the past year, and for the general prosperity with which he has blessed us.

We have the pleasure of reporting that a larger number of emigrants have been sent to Liberia than during any preceding year, since the organization of the Society, with the exception of the year 1832. Six expeditions have departed from our shores, with 507 emigrants.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, on the 26th of January, with 136 emigrants; of these 19 were born free and the remainder were slaves manumitted for the purpose of Colonization.

The barque *Chieftain* sailed from Savannah, Georgia, on the 14th of February, with 167 emigrants; 154 of these were manumitted by the will of the late Maj. Jacob Wood of Perry county—the others were free persons from Charleston, S. C.

The *D. C. Foster* sailed from New Orleans, on the 15th of March, with 78 emigrants, of whom 40 were emancipated by will, and the remainder were free. We are indebted to the active agency of the Louisiana State Colonization Society, for

important services in the fitting out of this expedition.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore, on the 4th of July, with 56 emigrants, of whom 35 were born free, 13 had purchased their freedom, and the remainder were emancipated by different persons, for the purpose of going to Liberia.

The barque *Edgar* sailed from New York on the 2d of October, with 32 emigrants, 12 of these were from Newbern, N. C., the family of Daniel Williams "the engineer," who was purchased with funds raised by the Journal of Commerce, in New York. The others were all free and from various parts of the country. This expedition was sent out by the New York State Colonization Society.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore, on the 21st of December, with 38 emigrants, all of these were free, excepting 3 who had purchased themselves, and one who had been emancipated.*

Our funds have increased during the past year and we have assurances that they will continue still to increase, and yet there have existed peculiar obstacles in the way of our collecting funds. The general state of the country has been one of excitement and alarm on subjects, with which our interests have been by many confounded. It is gratifying therefore to know that the streams which flow into our Treasury have been enlarged.

At the last Annual Meeting the Society was in debt upwards of $12,000. Since then the current expenses of the Treasury have been met and the indebtedness reduced to $7,480.68.

The total amount of our receipts the past year, as will appear from the account current appended to this report, is $64,973.91.

It is a very encouraging and important fact, that a large part of these receipts have been the spontaneous offerings of the friends of the cause.

A very limited number of *agents* have been employed in collecting funds. This has been partly owing to the difficulty of obtaining men of the right qualifications for this arduous and responsible work; but chiefly to the fact, that most of the State Societies employ their own agents, and manage the business of raising money within their bounds themselves. This is the case in Massa-

* Expeditions to Liberia in 1850—

Jan. 26, Liberia Packet,	136	emigrants.
Feb. 14, Barque Chieftain,	167	"
Mar. 15, Schooner D. C. Foster,	78	"
July 4, Liberia Packet,	56	"
Oct. 2, Barque Edgar,	32	"
Dec. 21, Liberia Packet,	38	"
Total number,	507	

Of these 165 were born free, 305 were emancipated, 32 purchased themselves, and 5 were purchased by friends in New York.

chusetts,—New York,—New Jersey,— Pennsylvania, — Virginia, — Kentucky,—Illinois,—and Missouri. The Louisiana and Mississippi Societies have not been able to secure any regular agency, nor have we been able to find the right man for that important and fruitful field.

The only agents who have been operating for us during the *whole* year, are Captain G. Barker in Rhode Island, Maine, and New Hampshire,—David Christy in Ohio, and Rev. R. W. Bailey in Virginia. The former, has been successful in collecting funds, while the two latter have devoted very little of their time to that business. Mr. Christy has been chiefly employed in diffusing information, securing local organizations and operating on the minds of the legislature and other public bodies. Mr. Bailey has devoted himself almost exclusively to the free colored people, endeavoring to enlighten them on the subject and induce them to go to Liberia.

We have lately secured the services of the Rev. John Orcutt in Connecticut,—the Rev. Jesse Rankin in North Carolina,—and the Rev. J. Morris Pease, who is now in Mississippi.—We anticipate large receipts from their efforts, as they have been remarkably successful thus far.

In this connection we desire to make honorable mention of the efficient agency of many Ladies, Pastors of Churches, officers of local Auxiliary Societies, and other private individuals, who have voluntarily rendered substantial services in collecting funds and remitting them immediately to our Treasury.

From the various State Auxiliary Colonization Societies we have received fewer remittances than we had anticipated.

The New York Society chartered a vessel and sent an expedition to Liberia, and the Kentucky Society paid the expenses of their emigrants in the D. C. Foster. The funds thus used, have not been reckoned any part of our receipts.

There have many things transpired during the past year, which indicate the approach of the "good time" when we shall not be compelled to rely solely on voluntary contributions to carry forward the work of colonization. The Legislature of Virginia has made a noble *beginning* in the work, by passing an act for the removal of free persons of color to Liberia. This act, passed the 11th of March last, in the first place, appropriates $30,000 annually for five years, to aid this Society in removing those who were *free* and *residents* of Virginia when the act was passed; and it allows only $25 for each adult, and $15 for each child under 10 years of age. This will not defray one-half the actual expenses of their passage and support six months in Libe-

ria. By the most rigid economy, the actual cost cannot be reduced below an *average* of $50 each, old and young. This appropriation, therefore, leaves a deficiency of $25 on every adult, and $35 on every child, whom we send to Liberia.—At present this deficiency can only be supplied by voluntary contributions.

In the second place, this act lays a tax of *one dollar* annually on every free male "of the age of 21 years, and under 55." The proceeds of this tax are to be added to the $30,000, and will increase it upwards of $15,000.

Though this act is *not* altogether as liberal in its provisions as we could wish, still it is a great moral demonstration of the propriety and necessity of STATE ACTION! It will be productive of great good, and ultimately lead to the adoption of whatever measures are necessary to meet the demands of the enterprise as far as Virginia is concerned. Colonization is now the policy of the State. The time has arrived when something effectual must be done. We have learned that several schemes are now before the Convention of the State. An intelligent correspondent thinks they will not act hastily, nor rashly—but with prudence combined with firmness.

We have received only $605 from this State appropriation, though we have sent 108 emigrants from Virginia during the year. It will, therefore, be seen that but a small part of them were included in the provisions of the act.

The attention of the Legislature of Ohio has been turned to the enterprise. A preamble and joint resolutions were passed last February, of which the following is a copy:

"*Preamble and Joint Resolutions, instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress in relation to the independence of Liberia, and for other purposes.*

WHEREAS the colored emigrants from the United States, who have been settled on the coast of Africa by the agency of the American Colonization Society, are now organized into an independent republic, aud have been acknowledged as such by the Governments of England and France; and, whereas, the influence exerted by the Colony in promoting civilization in Africa has been very beneficial, and promises extensive usefulness; and, whereas, intelligent colored men in the United States, who might be eminently useful in Africa, are unwilling to emigrate to Liberia until its independence shall be acknowledged by the government of the United States; therefore,

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives in Congress are requested to use their influence to induce the General Government to acknowledge the independence of the republic of Liberia, and that they also be requested to use all honorable means to induce

the free blacks of the United States to emigrate to that country.

BENJAMIN F. LEITER,
Speaker of the House of Reps.
CHARLES C. CONNER,
Speaker of the Senate.
February 5, 1850.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE,
COLUMBUS, *Feb.* 6, 1850.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a correct copy of the original roll now on file in this office.

SAM'L GALLOWAY,
Secretary of State."

At the same meeting of the Legislature an effort was made to pass an act making an annual appropriation to aid in colonizing any of the free colored people residing in the State. The bill, however, was crowded into the last hours of the session, and failed, as our agent has assured us, only for want of time.—We may, therefore, anticipate something important at their present session. Numerous memorials have been sent into them praying an appropriation. The Committee of Correspondence for Ohio, which is composed of some of the most influential gentlemen in the State, have had the matter under consideration, and impressed fully with its importance have adopted a strong memorial in its favor, and will do all in their power towards its accomplishment.

There are said to be about 30,000 colored people in the State. They have made an effort to get the convention for revising the Constitution of the State to grant them the right of *citizenship*. But they have failed, and there is no probability that they will ever succeed. It is thought, that some stringent measures will be adopted to prevent any more from coming into the State. Under all these circumstances, therefore, it is considered the imperative duty of the legislature to make provision for their removal from the State, and their comfortable settlement in Liberia, where they can enter upon the full enjoyment of all the privileges of a free and independent government.

By the noble liberality of a citizen of Cincinnati, a large tract of territory has been purchased north of Monrovia, and placed at the disposal of the colored people of Ohio, for the purpose of forming a new settlement in Liberia. Colored men in various parts of the State have the subject under consideration, and are seeking information, with a view to emigration. Our agent in that State after a careful examination says, "there are causes now operating, principally *moral and commercial*, that must soon lead to a rapid emigration of the colored people to Africa. The reasons upon which this opinion is founded, will soon be laid before the public, when, it is believed, there will no longer exist any serious objections in Ohio to colonization."

Condition of the colored people in Ohio.

Three excellent young men from Cincinnati were to sail in our vessel from New Orleans yesterday, with the full expectation that others of their friends will follow in the next expedition.

The resolutions to which we have alluded, were adopted by a vote of 51 to 14, in the House of Representatives.

They were agreed to, by the Senate, without a division. As they cover the broad question of an approval of the whole scheme of colonization, the very large majorities by which they are adopted may be considered conclusive evidence of the public sentiment of the State on the subject.

Taking things, therefore, as they really are, and in all probability will continue to be, in the great State of Ohio, the scheme of colonization is not one merely of humanity, and sound policy, but of great and overpowering necessity. It is a question, not of dollars and cents, but of high and exalted obligation, enforced by all the duties of self-preservation to both races. Daily accumulating circumstances, make it more and more apparent, that the condition of the colored people is not improving, and cannot be expected to improve! What then is to be done? Can they remain long where they are and as they are? We think not. The voice of the State calls them to depart. Where shall they go? We may safely point them to Liberia, and without hesitation recommend emigration, not only for what they may attain there, but also for what they may escape from in Ohio! In Liberia the condition of the emigrant is hourly improving, their government is becoming more firm, the comforts of living are becoming more abundant, education is advancing, the sympathies of the whole civilized world are with them, and they are daily feeling more and more of the elevating and refining influences which always gather around a people enjoying an individuality of existence, among the great family of nations.

In comparison with this picture, what is their condition in highly favored and free Ohio? What have they there to encourage them? Let them look back five or ten years, mark all their efforts to obtain what they call "*their rights*," and then mark their signal failures; and what is there on which they can build a hope for better things to come. There may be instances of individual prosperity among them, but take them as a whole, what advancement have they made? Daily is there rushing into the State a crowd of foreigners eager for occupation, and soon destined to crowd out the colored people. What then shall they do? There is no place for them except Liberia.

It is this view of the case which

Action of the State of Indiana.

has brought every man who values the permanent prosperity and happiness of the colored people, to advocate their removal to Liberia as a matter of State policy, as well as of great good to them personally.

In the State of Indiana the sentiment is spreading rapidly, that it is the duty of both the State and national governments, to adopt some general system of colonization.

The Governor, in his late message to the Legislature, earnestly recommends the measure. His remarks on the subject, are so eminently just and patriotic, that we here quote them entire:

"The subject of the colonization of the free blacks is now beginning to receive that attention which its importance demands. The circumstances which surround *us*, are pressing our people to look into this subject in the right light, and in a proper spirit.

Our Southern brethren are making rapid movements towards abridging the privileges of this class, even to banishment. We in the North are adopting extraordinary means for removing them, by prohibiting them from holding property, excluding them from the protection of the laws, and denying them any rights whatever.

While all this is going on, our better nature, the common sympathies of all men, are beginning to ask these important questions: *what is to be the end of all this? Is there no remedy? Is there no cure for this evil?*

In the midst of all this excitement and confusion, the light breaks in upon us, which points conclusively to colonization as *the only remedy*. The infant colony of Liberia, recognized as one among the nations of the earth, begins now to attract the attention of all men who desire to see an entire separation of the two races. In this great struggle for the separation of the black man from the white, let Indiana take her stand; put her agent into the field. Her citizens are ready—yea, they are willing to contribute of their surplus, something for the removal of this people from among us, and to locate them in the native land of their forefathers. Other states in this Union have their own settlements in Liberia. Let Indiana have hers. Let us sustain the movement made by Mr. Bryan, of Alabama, for the employment of Government vessels, to found an empire in Africa. Let the national, as well as the State Governments, strike at this hour for a permanent and effectual remedy for the agitations and excitement of the day on this difficult question."

The Legislature of the State have repeatedly had the subject under consideration. About a year ago they adopted a resolution requesting their members of Congress, "in the name of the State of Indiana, to call for a change of national policy on the subject of the African slave trade, and that they require a settlement of the coast of Africa with colored men from the United States."

They also entertained the proposition to make an appropriation to aid in colonizing any from that State who desire to emigrate to Liberia. It is thought by those well acquainted

throughout the State, that a very large majority of the citizens are warmly in favor of some State action in the premises. They have felt, and continue still to feel very keenly, the evils arising from the existence of two distinct races on the same soil. It will, doubtless, not be long until some effectual measures will be taken to prevent free colored people of other States from coming into theirs. So that all the considerations which urge colonization in Ohio, as a matter of State interest for Legislative action, may be found in Indiana, acting with equal force and tending to the same result.*

Already, the CONSTITUTIONAL

* We find in the Cincinnati Gazette the following account of the vote upon these measures, in the Convention:

"The first section, providing that no negro or mulatto shall come into the State after the adoption of the constitution, *passed*, 94 to 40.

The second section, making all contracts with them void, and fining all persons employing them not less than ten nor more than five hundred dollars, *passed*, 78 to 59.

The third section, appropriating the fines collected under this article to the colonization of the negroes now in the State, *passed*, 106 to 33.

The fifth section, providing that the Legislature shall pass laws necessary to carry out this negro article, *passed*, without the ayes and noes.

The sixth section, requiring the separate submission of this article to the people—'Exclusion and colonization of negroes and mulattoes—aye or no,' *passed*, 82 to 54."

On this action the Cincinnati Daily Commercial makes the following observations:

"The above action on the negro question has been urged by prominent citizens of this State, or something very near it, and on that account a pamphlet has been published, and is now in circulation here, headed as follows: "Address to the Constitutional Convention of Ohio from the State Convention of colored men held in Columbus, January 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1851." This address *modestly* requests that the word 'white' in the fourth article, first section of the constitution of Ohio, be stricken out, so as to permit colored men to exercise the elective franchise, &c. It is this spirit, this keen desire of the colored race in Ohio, aided by a few white men, that keeps up a continual excitement on the negro question, and, to avoid this in future, doubtless, Indiana statesmen have taken measures to keep negroes out of the State altogether. It is, then, the duty of the statesmen of our own Commonwealth to examine the subject thoroughly, and decide if it be not their duty to pass similar laws here.

* * * * * * * *

Pennsylvania is taking steps to prevent negroes from harboring within her limits! Virginia is taking steps to drive the free negroes from her borders; at least the subject is agitated, and the free negroes of that Commonwealth number about *fifty thousand!* Kentucky will also follow suit; and if Ohio puts no obstruction in the way of this prospective emigration of free negroes, the State will soon be in a deplorable condition! White laborers will have to give place to a pestiferous class of ignorant blacks—even the free blacks themselves, who are to the 'manor born,' will be foisted from their places, and crime, misery, and want be increased to a fearful extent within our boundaries. Considering the growing impudence of the negro population of Ohio, founded in ignorance, and increased yearly by the action of demagoguical partisans—who seek office by fair or foul means—we are not sure but the convention now assembled here to revise our constitution, will utterly fail of effecting anything, unless a similar action to that of Indiana be had."

The Buffalo (N. Y.) Commercial Advertiser makes the following remarks on the same subject:

"While we cannot sympathize with the spirit which prompts the introduction of such sweepingly prescriptive provisions into the constitution of a free State, against any class of citizens, we cannot fail to see in such movements a strong argument not only for colonization, but in favor of the General Government taking action to establish regular and cheap connection between the United States and Africa. The action of the

Action of the State of Indiana.

CONVENTION sitting in that State, has, by a decisive vote, excluded "negroes and mulattoes" from hereafter settling within their limits; they have also decided that all contracts with such persons shall be void; that any one employing them or encouraging them to remain in the State shall be liable to a fine of from $10 to $500; and that such fines shall be applied towards the gradual colonization of the free colored people now in that State!

This article is to be submitted to a separate vote of the people. There is scarcely a doubt that it will be adopted; and yet it is taking ground ahead of any other State. It was thought very cruel in Illinois a short time ago, to adopt a policy to prevent any more free colored people from coming into the State. But this action of Indiana goes far ahead of that, and looks to their ultimate and entire removal from the State.*

Indiana Convention is but the visible evidence of a deep-seated prejudice of caste, arising from a difference of color, which exists throughout the whole Northern States. It is deeply seated in the public mind; and however wrong it may be abstractly, there is no getting around the fact of its existence or of its manifestations. It does not, in every community, show itself in so marked a manner; but it is nevertheless existent, and the colored man is made to feel it with a crushing force. Nowhere can a colored man hold up his head in the full significancy of manhood—nowhere is he admitted to the social or political privileges of those of fairer complexion around him. Disabilities meet him wherever he goes, upon the right hand and upon the left. Nominal protection, and the right to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water unto others, is about all that is vouchsafed to him. No places of honor are open to him—no preferment awaits him; his position is fixed by the immutable laws of caste, and there is no cancelling the bond. But on the shores of Africa—in the native climate of his fathers—the colored man takes his place on terms of equality with his fellows—no degrading distinctions exist—he is a free man, in a land where he may indulge the aspirations of soul to which he is compelled to be a stranger, even in this land of freedom.

"Although the plan of colonizing the colored population of the United States on the far off shores of Africa may by many be deemed chimerical, yet we are sanguine that with proper Government aid it could be accomplished. It would require time, and the minds of the free blacks would have to be recovered from the malign influence of their worst enemies—the ultra Abolitionists—before much could be accomplished. But let a regular line of adequate steamers be established—let it be understood that certain, speedy, and cheap passage could be made, and those who are slaves in all but in name, would soon begin to leave a country where they have met with nothing but oppression, for another which holds out the promise and assurance of real freedom and true independence."

*We understand the subject was thoroughly discussed in the Convention. We subjoin an extract from an able speech by Mr. Morrison, of Washington County, in which he gave the "reasons why he should vote to exclude the negroes from further immigration into this State, and also to divest them of the right of acquiring real property hereafter.

"We all profess to be the friends of humanity; yet we differ, honestly, I presume, as to the plan by which we would secure our title to this distinguished appellation. Those who favor the immigration of free persons of color to this State, and contend for their right to hold real estate, seem to forget that the negro's home is the land of his fathers, where he may enjoy all the rights and immunities of a freeman, which he can never hope to attain in this country, unless the two races are permitted to amalgamate.

"Sympathy is diverse. There is a sympathy of the head as well as a sympathy of the heart. The former is the dictate of reason and judgment; the latter, of feeling and

Iowa, and Kentucky.

Not far behind the Convention of Indiana, comes on the Legislature of Iowa—that young but vigorous State. A bill has been introduced into the House to provide for the removal of all free persons of color emancipated in other States and hereafter settling in that; but providing that those already there may remain, subject to the present law on the subject, and *disqualifying them from acquiring any additional real estate.*

In the State of Kentucky the sentiment is rapidly gaining ground that the time for *State action* has arrived, and their Legislature having been called upon to lend the enterprise its powerful aid, have now before them a proposition to appropriate $5,000 each year, for five years, to be employed under the direction of the Kentucky Colonization Society, in removing the free colored people from that State and colonizing them in Liberia.

On this proposition the "Frankfort Commonwealth," a leading paper in the State, remarks, "the sum asked for, if laid as an additional tax upon the people of the State, would not require the assessment of one-fifth of a cent upon every $100 worth of taxable property. This is merely the pecuniary, or, so to speak, the selfish view of the subject. Its benevolent aspect has often been presented. It seems to us that, even if there were no present advantages in it, it would still be worthy of a great

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passion. In all grave questions like the present, it behooves every man to determine for himself how far his judgment and his votes may be influenced by the one or by the other.

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"He has been urged to turn a deaf ear to the invitations to remove to the land from whence he was torn. He has been made to believe that certain death awaited him as soon as he set foot upon his native shores. He has been told that here he had a *right* to stay—that this was the land of freedom—and that here and here only he might expect, one day, to be admitted to all the rights and immunities of a freeman. It is not contended, I believe, by those who take the opposite side of this question, that the negro can ever attain, in this country, to a social equality with the whites, though he may be invested with certain political rights, and yet there is no good reason why you should withhold from him the former if you confer upon him the latter. Then, sir, if you do not intend to admit them to full citizenship, why do you induce them to remain in your midst, when you have determined that they shall never be anything more than hewers of wood and drawers of water? Why deceive them by false promises which you do not intend to fulfil? Why not tell them the plain and naked truth, that the rights of citizenship will never be extended to them here, and if they conclude to remain, let them understand clearly the full extent of their disabilities; and when they incline to remove, be ready with the means to assist them in uniting with their brethren in the Republic of Liberia. Depend upon it, the people of this State, whenever called upon, will contribute cheerfully and liberally to restore them to their own native land.

"Mr. President, I shall favor that proposition which tends to increase their disabilities, with the confident hope that the results will be most advantageous to themselves. When they discover that they never can be elevated to the rank of citizens amongst us, then and not until then, will they feel that their own welfare, as well as the redemption of their race, are involved in accepting the proffered bounty of their friends."

Missouri, Illinois, and New York.

State, to contribute something to aid a scheme which we believe is destined ultimately to civilize and Christianize one-fourth of the world, and elevate a whole race."

The Legislature of Missouri has also been appealed to. Memorials, numerously signed, have been sent to them, holding language like the following:

"Your petitioners, feeling a profound interest in the cause of African Colonization, would respectfully represent to your honorable body, that, in the opinion of the petitioners, *the time has arrived* when the State of Missouri, in its sovereign capacity, should take some decided and efficient step in aid of the noble enterprise. The citizens of this State are becoming daily more sensible that it holds out substantial and enduring benefits to our white population, and incalculable blessings to the free colored people. It needs the aid of the State and National Governments to insure its success. Your petitioners therefore pray your honorable body to appropriate a sum of money to be used by the Colonization Society, under such restrictions as you may impose, for the removal of the free blacks from this State to the Western Coast of Africa."

In Illinois, we learn from the Springfield Journal, a large company of the free colored people propose to emigrate to Liberia and will seek an appropriation from the State Legislature to aid them in their removal.

At a late special meeting of the New Jersey Colonization Society, with Chief Justice Hornblower, the President, in the Chair, a resolution was adopted earnestly requesting the Governor of that State, in his next annual message, to recommend that an appropriation be made to promote the object of the Colonization Society, in aiding the free people of color, in their voluntary emigration from that State to the Republic of Liberia.

The Board of Managers of the New York Colonization Society have also resolved to memoralize the Legislature of that State for an appropriation for the same purpose. On this subject the editor of one of their papers remarks:

"Why shall not New York,—not behind any State in liberal and ample provisions for the various philanthropic institutions of the age, and in provisions for the elevation of her population by education,—recognizing the hopelessness of ultimately rendering that class, who are, by her fundamental law, degradingly distinguished from others, the actual possession of a full, social and political elevation,—offer to them the means of escape, by providing for them a fund to defray the expenses of their removal to a more equal and inviting theatre, to which they are summoned by the highest motives that can be addressed to men? If they decline to avail themselves of the privileges, there is no loss of money to the State, and we shall have the satisfaction at least of having offered to return to Africa the population torn from her. If, on the contrary, many improve the privilege, as we doubt not they will, the expense will not be great. The State will have done for them the

highest act of justice in her power, by placing them under political institutions where nothing impedes their hopes of elevation, and on a theatre of nobler grandeur, calculated to give exercise and developement to all the capacities of intellect and heart they possess."

The State of Maryland, though we mention her "*last*," ranks by no means "*least*," in her endeavors to advance this enterprise. In 1832 she passed a law appropriating $200,000, to be expended by the Maryland Colonization Society in planting a colony of her free colored people at Cape Palmas. She therefore enjoys the honor of having first adopted Colonization as a matter of State policy.

It is well known that she has established a colony, which has from year to year gradually acquired strength, and which is at this time a well ordered community of emigrants from this country, and mainly from her own bounds. This colony has been established as a place to which her own free colored people may emigrate, whenever they are so inclined. She has thus far defrayed the whole expenses of their removal and settlement at Cape Palmas.

The amount originally appropriated is now nearly exhausted. But we cannot but hope that she will, in view of the great success which has attended her efforts thus far, renew her assistance and on a larger scale.

These several movements of State Legislatures, are but instances by which the general sentiments of the people at large are arrayed in favor of some energetic system of State action for carrying on the work of Colonization. In addition to them, there are other things in abundance which prove conclusively that the American people are sensible of the merits of Colonization, and that there is no other enterprise to the advancement of which the several State Governments could devote their means and meet with so hearty a concurrence of all their citizens!

The conviction is not without foundation that Colonization is not only a legitimate object of State appropriations, but also that money thus spent would, in the end, be an actual saving to the State. It cannot have escaped the attention of any observing person, that a great deal of the time of every State Legislature has been consumed in legislation growing out of the existence and condition of the free colored people within their bounds. Take for example the State of Ohio. A large part of the time of her Legislature, for several years past, has been consumed in efforts to secure to the colored people equal social and political privileges! The time thus spent has cost the State large sums of money! Is it constitutional and legitimate for the Legislature to spend the public money in this way? If it is, and we have never heard it

doubted, then surely it would be proper and right to spend the same money in Colonizing the same people in Liberia! For the moment they land there, they enjoy, unmolested, all the rights and privileges claimed for them by their most zealous friends in Ohio!

From the very nature of the embarrassments under which the colored people live, many of them are unable to provide for their own wants, and thus become a tax on the community in which they live. Unfortunately, too, many of them hemmed in and pressed down as they are, often commit crimes, for which they must be punished. Who can calculate the amount of expense incurred in this way? We should be perfectly satisfied with an appropriation made by any State equal in amount to the cost of the poverty and crimes of her colored population!

Who can doubt, therefore, that a judicious policy of Colonization, adopted and carried on with vigor, for a few years, would in the end be an actual saving to the State? The other advantages which would be enjoyed by the people of the United States, as the result of the Colonization of the free colored people would be immense. The blessings poured upon *them* in Liberia, would also be incalculable.

We therefore, view with pleasure, these indications that the State Legislatures will soon render assistance commensurate with the greatness of the work!

We also anticipate the action of the General Government in favor of Colonization. From all parts of the country the desire has been expressed that Congress should foster and encourage the work. On the 7th of March last, the Hon. D. Webster, in the United States Senate said:

"If any gentleman from the South shall propose a *scheme of Colonization to be carried on by this Government* upon a large scale, for the transportation of free colored people to any Colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur *almost any degree of expense* to accomplish that object. Nay, sir, following an example set here more than twenty years ago by a great man, then a Senator from New York, I would return to Virginia, and through her for the benefit of the whole South, the money received from lands and territories ceded by her to this Government for any such purpose as to relieve, in whole or in part, or in any way to diminish or deal beneficially with, the free colored population of the Southern States. I have said that I honor Virginia for her cession of this territory. There have been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands ceded by her. If the residue should be sold at the same rate, the the whole aggregate will exceed two hundred millions of dollars. If Virginia or the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of color among them, they have my free consent that the Government shall pay

them any sum of money out of its proceeds, which may be adequate to the purpose."

A scheme has been proposed for establishing a line of steamships to run between this country and Liberia, which has met with general favor. At the last session of Congress, the Committee of the House of Representatives on Naval Affairs made a very able Report in favor of the plan. The subject will doubtless come up for consideration in a few days, and we earnestly trust, some action will be had thereon.

The great feature of the proposed plan which gives us an interest in it, is the fact that these ships are bound to carry to Liberia and support them on the passage, as many emigrants as we desire to send, at the rate of $10 for each adult, and $5 for each child under 12 years of age. It will at once be seen, that this will reduce the expenses of transportation about two-thirds. The Colonization interest therefore, in all parts of the country is warmly in favor of the adoption of this scheme. The public press has almost universally come out in its favor, and advocated its adoption with great zeal and strong argument. It can hardly be doubted that the great ends to be accomplished present considerations of sufficient magnitude and importance to induce the Government to adopt the measure. The suppression of the African slave trade, the extension of American commerce, the opening of another market for American productions and manufactures, the elevation of a depressed race, the removal from our midst of an unfortunate class of people, the planting of civilization and Christianity on a foreign shore, and the redemption, from the deepest woes, of a whole continent, all combine and appeal to the honor, the benevolence, the patriotism and the justice of every true American, and urge the adoption of a policy which shall so rapidly advance one of the greatest glories of the age!

The following extract from a letter of President Roberts will show the estimate which is placed upon this enterprise in Liberia. The letter is dated at Monrovia the 30th of Sept., 1850, and addressed to M. St. Clair Clarke, Esq., of this city.

"There is no question in my mind but that a line of steamships between the United States and this country would produce important results in favor of colonization, as well as the commercial interests both of the U. States and Liberia.

With such facilities as this scheme would afford colonization, emigration would be greatly augmented.—There are unquestionably hundreds, perhaps thousands, in the United States, who, for many years, have been violently opposed to the Colonization Society, and will not now, they say, have any thing to do with it, though their prejudices against Liberia have ceased, that would avail themselves of such a conveyance—cheap and quick—to emigrate to Liberia. The Society, also, would be able to increase the number of emigrants coming out under its aus-

pices, at the moderate rate of passage proposed, two hundred per cent.

The commercial advantages which will accrue to both countries, especially the United States, are important considerations. But I am needlessly taking up your time.—You have maturely considered all these things, and have arrived at just conclusions with respect to the future result. I sincerely pray that God may spare both your life and mine to see the consummation of this great work. I am exceedingly gratified at the favor the proposition has met with at Washington."

The Report made by the Rev. R. R. Gurley of his mission to Liberia, by authority of the United States Government, has just been published, and is an interesting and important document, full of information about Liberia, showing conclusively, the importance of more frequent intercourse between that country and this, and the desirableness of a recognition of the independence of Liberia by the United States Government.

The Liberia Packet has continued to make regular voyages to and from the coast of Africa, affording certain facilities of intercourse between the two countries, and proving a great convenience to this Society.

The interest felt in the cause of education in Liberia has continued to increase, and some important results have been produced. The Legislature of Massachusetts has incorporated the "Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia." Their object is to raise funds and establish in Liberia one or more seminaries of learning of the first order. The necessity for such a movement is obvious, and its importance can scarcely be overestimated. Liberia has now a system of Common Schools, established by law. They, however, need a supply of well educated teachers. The existence of a College, complete in all its parts, and in successful operation, would supply teachers not only for the schools in Liberia, but also for the native tribes around, where they are so much needed. It would operate directly for the benefit of the Republic, while at the same time it would operate for the benefit of the entire African race, affording them facilities for improvement, such as they have never before enjoyed.

We therefore trust the enterprise will be liberally sustained.

The "Alexander High School" has gone into operation at Monrovia. It is accommodated with an iron building sent from this country, and is well supplied with books, maps and apparatus. This school is under the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, and is taught by the Rev. H. W. Ellis.

Another school of a high order is under the care and tuition of the Rev. B. V. R. James. Mr. Gurley speaks in very high praise of the usefulness of this school,

Extensive purchases of territory have been made since the last annual Meeting. In his dispatch of 17th May, 1850, President Roberts says:

"We have at length succeeded in securing the famed Territory of Gallinas to this Government, including all the territories between Cape Mount and Shebar, excepting a small slip of about five miles of coast in the Killom country, which will soon fall into our hands. For these tracts we have incurred a large debt, and we confidently look to you to aid us in meeting these liabilities at maturity. Had I not deemed it absolutely important to secure the Gallinas to prevent the revival of the slave trade there, I would not have paid the price demanded. The purchase of Gallinas and the neighboring tracts will cost us about $9,500.

The chiefs were aware of the objects of the purchase, and argued strenuously the sacrifice, as they consider it, they must make in abandoning for ever the slave trade, and demanded a large sum as an equivalent. In addition to the amount stated above, we have been obliged ourselves to appoint Commissioners immediately to settle the wars in the country, and open the trade in camwood, ivory, and palm oil, with the interior tribes; and also settle among them, as soon as convenient, persons capable of instructing them in the art of husbandry. This will also cost us a considerable sum."

How beautifully conspicuous does the influence of Liberia stand out here? Gallinas has been for years the principal slave depot on the western coast of Africa. It is now a part of the Republic of Liberia! The traffic in slaves is abolished, and lawful Commerce is substituted! *Teachers* of the arts and sciences and all the means and appliances of civilization, are sought for by the natives and to be supplied by the Liberians.

Thus the Republic of Liberia is making an onward movement, sending forth the light of civilization and the institutions of Christianity amidst the benighted children of Africa, laying deep and broad the foundations of future usefulness; presenting to the colored people of this country the most encouraging prospects, and exhibiting to the world indubitable evidence of their capacity for self-government, and the accomplishment of untold good!

"In the fall of Gallinas and the annexation of its territory to the Republic of Liberia, we see the absolute extinction of the slave-trade from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas. That the Liberian Government is able to prevent its re-establishment, now, in the day of her strength and independence, fostered by powerful nations, we have a sufficient guaranty by what she *has* done at Messurado, Bassa, and Trade Town, in the time of her infancy and weakness."

Let us for a moment contrast the scenes which are yet to be witnessed when schools and churches and dwellings shall mark the spot where once stood the barracoon of the slave trader, with what has been witnessed there for the last century! For the future prospect, imagination

nay draw her most beautiful sket-
ches, for the materials for the paint-
ng are all in readiness! To paint
he *past* we are incompetent, for in
his country there are no sights,
here are no sounds, with which we
re familiar, which will serve as
even a back ground for the picture!

The following graphic sketch is
rom one who has been on the
pot:

"This Gallinas, of all other
places on the coast of Africa, with
which we have been acquainted,
as been the scene of the greatest
orrors. What imagination can
conceive the thousandth part of the
nisery that has been endured by hu-
nan beings on this little cluster of
ushy islands? Of the five or ten
housand, who are annually brought
o this place, each and every one has
o mourn a home made desolate, a
amily dismembered, the blood of
indred flowing. Of this number,
ow many sink in these wretched
arracoons from distress of mind at
heir wretched condition, from dis-
ase and famine; how many are sa-
rificed in their hurried shipment by
he ravenous sharks; how many sink
nder the most protracted agonies
n that confinement between decks,
he air of which is putridity itself;
nd, of the miserable survivors, the
ttenuated, excoriated wretches,
who are still destined for the sham-
les, how few but would exclaim,
Thrice and four times happy are
hose who sink under the knife of
he midnight assassin, or were con-
umed in the conflagration of their
alm-covered cottages?

But Gallinas is destroyed; as a
lave mart it has ceased to exist;
rom its marshy islets the fiat shall
no more go forth to spread fire and
sword throughout a peaceful land;
the marauding chief has bound his
last victim; the haggard, Lazarone
slaver has riveted his last fetter; the
shark at the bar mouth has fed on
his last slave gang; and this land,
heretofore detested and detestable,
is henceforth to form a part of the
free and independent Republic of
Liberia."

During the past year the Massa-
chusetts Sabbath School Society has
published an interesting history of
Liberia, under the title of the "New
Republic." It is a duodecimo vol-
ume of 252 pages, and contains a
clear and concise history of Liberia,
from the time of the organization of
the American Colonization Society
to the year 1848, and showing mani-
festly the beneficial results of Colo-
nization.

There has also been published a
pamphlet, entitled "Sketches of Li-
beria," by J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D.,
for several years Colonial Physician
and United States Agent for recap-
tured Africans in Liberia. These
sketches are full of information re-
specting the soil, climate, produc-
tions, towns, settlements, rivers,
diseases, and indeed everything
about which any person could de-
sire information of the most truthful,
minute and impartial kind. The
long residence of the author in
Liberia, the great care with which
he endeavored to make observations,
and to acquire information from the
most authentic sources, give a value

and authority to these sketches seldom to be met with in books of the kind.

From the concluding paragraphs we make the following extracts, as they embody the results of the author's experience and convictions on the subject:

"In tracing the various events connected with the rise and progress of the Republic of Liberia, no unprejudiced individual can for a moment doubt that the smiles of heaven have rested upon it; and that the sheltering wings of a kind Providence have been spread over it for good—not only to the emigrants from this country, but to the benighted and degraded aborigines of Africa—a land which has so long been enveloped in the darkness of heathenism.—And, in view of the social and political position and relations of colored persons in the United States, contrasted with the position and relations of the free and independent citizens of that young Republic, it must be admitted by all candid persons, that the condition of those people in Liberia who are disposed to use the necessary appliances for making themselves truly independent, is vastly superior to that of free people of color in any part of this country.

In view of what has already been accomplished, and of the incalculabe amount of good which may yet be accomplished through the instrumentality of the Colonization Society and of the Republic of Liberia, surely no true friend of the colored race can consistently oppose the operations of the former, or withhold the expression and exhibition of a sincere desire for the continued prosperity of the latter."

Testimony of the same kind we take from the closing paragraph of President Roberts' last message to the Legislature of Liberia, in which he says:

"Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, I close this communication under the full conviction that you will discharge the important trusts committed to you with firmness and fidelity. And that you will do all in your power to extend the benefits of civilization, by combining the development of political institutions with true social progress. In doing which you will not only fulfil a sacred duty of humanity, but also materially strengthen the basis in which modern civilization, family and property are founded. I know, gentlemen, that our position is still a delicate one, and that you are surrounded by many difficulties, yet we are relieved by many hopes. After that which confidence in Providence offers, the greatest is in virtue, love of country, and your wisdom, on which your fellow citizens have perfect confidence. I pray that you may be sustained in your deliberations by that wisdom which comes from above, and when you have finished your labors you can retire under the full conviction that you have conscientiously discharged your duties to the best of your ability."

We anticipate in the coming year a large increase of emigrants for Liberia. The causes are now in operation. The law by which every man aspires to a superior condition, sure and unalterable as the ebb and flow of the tides, will carry the African back to the land of his fathers.

He is awake! Never will the slumber come over him again! He has found the place of his rest, the spot where he can erect an altar to his God unmolested and unafraid! An unseen hand is felt strongly leading him thither. Thousands have already made it their home! Larger thousands will soon follow. It is the land of the sun, the region of tropical bloom and beauty, of fragrant flowers and delicious fruits. All that is beautiful in nature—as well as all that is noble and sublime in their moral elevation, invite them hither! As parents and as children, Liberia is the place for them. If they desire to do good, or to get good, Liberia is the place for them. If they wish to elevate themselves individually, or to elevate their race with a power and grandeur unsurpassed, Liberia is the place for them! And the day will come when they will see and feel this! Clouds and darkness may now be round about their views. Their sensibilities may be very blunt and lifeless. But the time is coming when their heart shall be energized and brought as it were into contact with the great heart of Liberia, and feel its quick and life-giving pulsations! Then will they up and hie themselves away. The free people of color in the United States number upwards of half a million. Among them are many persons of education and intelligence, of sound sense and correct morals. It cannot be that such persons shall fail to perceive that emigration to Liberia presents the speediest and most perfect relief from their present disadvantageous position. Interest, pride, ambition, self-love, self-respect, benevolence, "faith, hope and charity," all combine to lead them to Liberia, as the home for themselves and their children, and the field for the most perfect development of their powers, and the most extensive and intense usefulness.

Touching the operations of the year upon which we have just entered, it becomes us to remark, that the most energetic measures are needed to increase the funds of the Society and to enlarge its usefulness. The voice of God, speaking no less audibly than when it summoned the hosts of Israel to "go forward," calls upon all to awake and with united energy carry forward this enterprise as the only redemptive influence for Africa, and an everlasting monument to the praise of our own country. The permanency and glory of our Union, intimately blended with the success of this cause, appeals to our statesmen in all their high places of honor and responsibility, to advocate every measure calculated to secure so desirable a result. We have it in our power to dispense the richest blessings to one quarter of the globe; to relieve

the miseries and exalt the character and destiny of the African race, and thereby build up our country in all that is grand and noble!

Delay will not diminish the evils which we are called upon to remedy; timidity will not remove the difficulties to be over-come, nor will procrastination lighten the expenditure demanded! The call is now made. The answer should at once be heard. The appeal is strong and touching. To adopt the language of another:

"We come to you, fellow citizens, with this enterprise—the noblest yet devised by man for the good of his fellow man—fraught with more precious hopes than any the world has seen since the Mayflower moored to the Rock of Plymouth. We come with it to you at your firesides, and in your fields—when you bow down morning and evening to offer up to Heaven your thanksgiving for the rich and abundant blessings with which He has crowned your lot—when your wife is at your side, your children at your feet, your hearth-stone bright with joy, and your bosom warm with freedom and with hope; in the midst of your own overflowing happiness, we plead with you for the homeless and exiled. We appeal to you as freemen, to uphold a Republic—as Christians, to send the light of your Holy Religion to a heathen continent—as men, to contribute something to wipe out the darkest spot that stains the annals of human misery. You fed Ireland when she was hungry—you clothed her in her nakedness, yet it was not your hand that had oppressed her. You heard the cry of her destitution and want, and you flew to her relief. The same tyranny which, through centuries of suffering and wrong, brought such afflictions upon Ireland, robbed Africa of her sons, and sold them to your forefathers. You have broken the chains from their hands, but you have not, and you cannot, give them a home and freedom here! Dependent and helpless, they struggle in vain against their most dismal fate. From you alone, can they hope for relief. You hold in your hands a power beyond the power of Kings, and stronger than the cruel tyranny that has afflicted them. Blot out the crime of others by your own full acts of mercy. Restore to Africa some portion of her lost family, and the blessing of a "nation scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down" shall rest upon your head and recommend you to the common Father of the bond and the free, the oppressed and the happy."

Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

Washington City, Jan. 21, 1851.

THE American Colonization Society met at 7 o'clock in the First Presbyterian Church.

The Hon. Henry Clay, President of the Society, took the chair.

The Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., Newark, N. J., opened the meeting with prayer, after which, the Hon. Mr. CLAY delivered an appropriate address of three quarters of an hour's duration, which was listened to with profound attention by the

large and intelligent audience; among whom were the President of the United States, several members of his Cabinet, several foreign ministers, a number of Senators and Representatives of Congress, and other distinguished persons.

The Secretary, Rev. W. McLain, then read an abstract of the Annual Report of the Society; after which addresses were delivered by the Rev. Robert Fuller, D. D., of Baltimore, J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., of Baltimore, and the Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, M. C., from Tennessee.

The Resolution from which the Rev. Dr. Fuller spoke, was as follows:—

Resolved, That while a review of the past may well cause the friends of the enterprise to thank God and take courage, the time has come when it becomes the Society to seek ampler resources, and invite more earnestly the attention of the whole country to colonization, and the blessings which must be secured by its successful prosecution.

That which formed the basis of the remarks of the Hon. Mr. Stanton, was as follows:—

Resolved, That the harmony of the States of this Union would be promoted by the voluntary emigration of the free blacks; and that it would be sound policy in the Government of the United States to adopt all efficient measures, within the range of its acknowledged powers, for the encouragement of African Colonization.

After the address had been delivered, the following Resolutions were offered by the Hon. R. R. Reed, M. C., from Pennsylvania, and were adopted by the meeting:—

Resolved, That the Republic of Liberia, having assumed a place among the nations of the earth, and attained a power to give permanence and strength to her position, is entitled to be treated by older Nations as a Sovereign and Independent State.

That the Christian Republic on the Western Coast of Africa was founded by the forecast and philanthropy of citizens of every section of these United States; and her people have just claims upon the United States as a Nation, to sympathy in their hopes, and encouragement of their laudable efforts in the cause of universal civilization.

That the American Colonization Society, respectfully submits to the Government of the United States, the expediency and sound policy of acknowledging, by some public act, the Independence and national existence of the Republic of Liberia; and of establishing relations of amity and commerce with that Nation.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the Colonization Rooms tomorrow, the 22d instant, at 12 o'clock, M.

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January 22d, 1851.

The American Colonization Society met at 12 o'clock, M., pursuant to adjournment.

Anson G. Phelps, Esq., being the oldest Vice President present, was, in the absence of the President, called to the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society were read.

Hon. James Whitcomb, of Indiana, Dr. David M. Reese, of New York, and Rev. P. Slaughter, of Virginia, were appointed a Committee to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year: whereupon the following named persons were nominated and elected:—

PRESIDENT,

Hon. Henry Clay.

VICE PRESIDENTS,

1. Gen. John H. Cocke, of Va.
2. Daniel Webster, of Mass.
3. Charles F. Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Maryland.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.
8. Gen. Walter Jones, of Dist. of Col.
9. Joseph Gales, do.
10. Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
11. Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
12. William Maxwell, of Va.
13. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.
14. Walter Lowrie, of New York.
15. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
16. Stephen Duncan, M. D., of Miss.
17. William C. Rives, of Va.
18. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Dist. of Col.
19. Rev. William Winans, D. D., of Miss.
20. James Boorman, of New York.
21. Henry A. Foster, of do.
22. Robert Campbell, of Geo.
23. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey.
24. James Garland, of Virginia.
25. Rt. Hon. Lord Bexley, of England.
26. William Hall, of Delaware.
27. Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.
28. Gerard Ralston, of England.
29. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, of New Jersey.
30. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D., of England.
31. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
32. Thomas R. Hazard, of R. I.
33. Thomas Massie, M. D., of Va.
34. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.,
35. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.,
36. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
37. James Railey, of Miss.
38. Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D., of New York.
39. Elliott Cresson, of Penn.
40. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
41. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Mass.
42. Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of the M. E. Church.
43. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D., of S. C.
44. Moses Sheppard, of Maryland.
45. Bishop McIlvane, of Ohio.
46. Rev. Dr. Edgar, of Tenn.
47. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Tenn.
48. J. R. Underwood, of Ky.
49. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
50. H. L. Lumpkin, of Georgia.
51. James Lenox, of New York.
52. Bishop Soule, of Tenn.
53. Prof. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Me.
54. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
55. Thomas W. Williams, of Conn.
56. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.
57. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Va.
58. Rev. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia.
59. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
60. Samuel Gurney, of England.
61. Charles McMicken, of Ohio.
62. John Bell, M. D., of Ohio.
63. Rev. Stephen Olin, D. D., of Conn.
64. Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of the Navy.
65. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Va.
66. Frederick P. Stanton, of Tenn.

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1852, at 7 o'clock P. M.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

Colonization Rooms,

Washington, Jan. 21, 1851.

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met according to adjournment. The meeting was called to order by the Rev. W. McLain, Secretary of the Society. On motion of Mr. McLain, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., was called to the chair, and the Rev.

Joseph Tracy was chosen Secretary of the Board.

The following Delegates were reported as having been appointed by the several State Societies to represent them in this Board, viz:

Vermont Col. Soc.—Hon. Samuel S. Phelps,* Hon. James Meacham.

Mass. Col. Soc.—Rev. Joseph Tracy, B. C. Clarke, Esq.,* Charles Stearns, Esq., J. W. Edmunds, Esq.*

New York State Col. Soc.—Rev. J. B. Pinney, *Life Director;* A. G. Phelps, Esq., *Life Director;* G. P. Disosway, Esq., Hon. D. S. Gregory, D. M. Reese, M. D., Rev. Thos. De Witt, D. D.,* Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D.,* Francis Hall, Esq.*

New Jersey State Col. Soc.—Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., Reuben Van Pelt, Esq., Rev. John Maclean, D. D.,* Rev. R. Davidson, D. D.

Penn. Col. Soc.—Hon. J. R. Ingersoll,* Hon. R. R. Reed.

Virginia State Col. Soc.—Rev. Philip Slaughter, P. V. Daniel, Jr., Esq.*

Louisiana State Col. Soc.—Hon. H. A. Bullard, Hon. C. M. Conrad,* W. S. Hodge, Esq.

Indiana State Col. Soc.—Hon. Jesse D. Bright,* Hon. James Whitcomb.

Rev. William McLain, *Life Director.*

Executive Committee Am. Col. Soc.—M. St. Clair Clarke,* Harvey Lindsly, M. D.,* Elisha Whittlesey, J. H. Bradley,* A. O. Dayton,* J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton.

The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Secretary of the Society.

On motion, the Chairman and Messrs. Whittlesey and Gregory, were appointed a Committee to wait on the President of the Society, and attend him to the place of meeting this evening.

An abstract of the Annual Report was read.

Messrs. Phelps and Van Pelt were appointed a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

A statement of the doings of the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors was read, and several particulars mentioned in it were placed on the docket for the consideration of the Board.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

—

Wednesday, January 22d.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The Secretary of the Society read a letter from R. B. Davidson, Esq., of Philadelphia, concerning a monument to Gov. Buchanan, and stated that the Executive Committee had

* Not present.

authorized him to subscribe $100 toward the same; the money to be raised specially for the purpose. Whereupon, on motion of Dr. Reese, it was

Resolved, That this Board of Directors concur with the Executive Committee in appropriating one hundred dollars toward the erection of a monument over the grave of the lamented Gov. Buchanan; and that the object be commended for execution to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, who have taken action thereon.

Resolved, That the new town to be settled near Grand Bassa Point be called *Buchanan*.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Pinney, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That the whole amount of funds which may from any source accrue to the Treasury of the American Colonization Society from any State, shall be accredited to the State Society, as a basis for representation in the Board of Directors.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, it was

Resolved, That for the purpose of securing entire harmony and co-operation between the State Societies and the Parent Society, all appeals, special or otherwise, for funds, which the Executive Committee may desire to make in any State, should first be communicated to the officers and proper agency of the State Society, and, if possible, made through them.

The Rev. Drs. Eddy and Davidson, and Mr. Disosway, were appointed a Committee to draft a minute in relation to the death of John McDonogh.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Davidson, the resolution concerning appeals within the bounds of State Societies, was reconsidered. The whole subject was then referred to a special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Bacon, Slaughter, Stearns, Davidson, and Eddy, to report to-morrow morning.

The Committee on the publication of a newspaper, appointed last year, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed at the last Annual Meeting upon the suggested publication of a newspaper to advocate the interests of colonization, beg leave respectfully to report:—

That they for some time endeavored to attend to the duties assigned them, and had entered into some arrangements for the publication of such a newspaper, when, in consequence of some untoward circumstances, they were induced to suspend further action, and refer the matters back to the Board at its meeting in January, 1851.

All which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. W. BETHUNE, *Ch'n.*
ANSON G. PHELPS.

January 16, 1851.

Whereupon, the following resolutions were offered by the Rev. Dr. Eddy:

Resolved, That the Report of the Committee on the establishment of a central organ, be recommitted to the same Committee, with the addition of Messrs.———

Resolved, That this Committee be empowered to correspond with the friends of colonization in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, and also in the State of New Jersey, and, if possible, to adopt some measures by which such organs may be established and maintained as may be demanded by the cause of colonization, through which information

may be diffused through the community.

Resolved, That in the view of this Board, it is important that the organs of the colonization cause should be so conducted as to secure unity of action in its several auxiliaries and agents, and as far as possible to lessen the expense of diffusing information through the country.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Pinney, the resolutions were laid on the table.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow.

—

Thursday, January 23.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The Committee appointed to prepare a minute in relation to the late John McDonogh, submitted the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted:—

The Directors of the American Colonization Society have heard with great pleasure and gratitude, that Twenty-five Thousand Dollars annually have been bequeathed to the American Colonization Society by the late Mr. McDonogh of Louisiana.

In the character of the late Mr. McDonogh, this Board recognize a high and honorable attestation of the merits and claims of the cause of African Colonization, by which it is commended to the interest and patronage of the friends of the African race throughout this country. And the enlarged beneficence of the bequest of Mr. McDonogh entitles the liberal benefactor to our grateful remembrance:

Therefore, *Resolved*, That this Board cause to be entered on their minutes, their acknowledgment of profound respect for the memory of the late Mr. McDonogh, and a due sense of their obligations to him for the bequest which he has made to the American Colonization Society, expressive alike of his deep interest in the welfare of the African race, and confidence in the wisdom and practicability of the scheme and plans of the American Colonization Society.

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's account presented a report, which was accepted, and is on file, (for which see page 33.)

On motion, it was resolved, that the chairman appoint a Committee of three to nominate officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. Stearns, Slaughter, and Davidson, were appointed. The Committee reported as follows:—

Secretary and Treasurer, Rev. William McLain.

Recording Secretary, Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel.

Executive Committee, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton.

The Report was accepted, and the gentlemen named were severally elected.

On motion, it was resolved, that the members present be a Committee to call on the Secretary of State, and present to him the Resolutions of the Society, in favor of recognizing the Independence of the Republic of Liberia. (For which Resolutions see page 27.)

The following report was submitted, and after discussion, adopted:

The Committee to whom was referred the Resolution offered by Rev. Mr. Pinney, on the subject of appeals made for funds, beg leave to report the following preamble and resolutions, for the consideration of the Board:

Whereas, the interests of the colo-

nization cause require that there should be uniformity in its system of operations, and harmony of action and co-operation among the several Societies and agencies engaged in the work: and whereas, it seems necessary, in order to secure this end that there should be a more full and perfect understanding in regard to the relations between the American Colonization Society and its several auxiliaries, and of the principles upon which their respective operations are to be conducted.

Therefore, *Resolved*, That all appeals for funds, which the Executive Committee of the Parent Society may desire to make in any State where there is an Auxiliary Society in active operation, should first be communicated to the proper agency of the State Society, and should in all cases be made through them, and that all collections so made should be passed to the credit of said Society on the books of the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the usefulness and efficiency of the American Colonization Society require the active aid and co-operation of its several Auxiliaries, and in order to this, it is desired and expected that each Auxiliary Society, after defraying its own domestic expenses, will pay over the balance of its funds, if any, to the Treasury of the American Society.

Resolved, That in the view of this Board, it is essential to that unity of plan and harmony of action, which are requisite in carrying forward successfully the work of colonization, that the several Auxiliary Societies, in their arrangements for sending out emigrants, and in all their business transactions with the Republic of Liberia, should act through, or in co-operation with, the Executive Committee of the Parent Society.

Resolved, further, That in the view of this Board, a compliance with the preceding resolution, in respect to sending out and settling emigrants, is rendered indispensible by the stipulations which exist between the Republic and the American Colonization Society in regard to the occupation of the lands, and in regard to commercial regulations. It is necessary also, in order to secure that uniformity in the provisions made for emigrants, and that disposition of them in the Territory, which their own interests and the welfare of the colonists alike demand.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Society be directed to send a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the several Auxiliary Societies.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the respective State Colonization Societies be earnestly requested to report to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, in the month of December annually, a statement of their proceedings during the year.

Resolved, That to secure the prompt observance of the above resolutions, the Secretary of the Society, in the month of November annually, address each of the State Societies, requesting that said proceedings be reported.

The minutes were read and approved. After which it was Resolved that the Board of Directors now adjourn, to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1852, at 12 o'clock, M.

The meeting was closed with prayer, by the Rev. R. R. Gurley.

ANSON G. PHELPS, *Ch'n.*
JOSEPH TRACY, *Secretary.*

Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society,

From 1st January, 1850, to 1st January, 1851.

Dr.		Cr.	
To Balances due the Society per last report, -	$7,297 16	By Balances due by the Society per last report,	$12,707 37
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:		Payments for the following objects, to wit:	
Donations, - - - -	22,893 10	Colonial Store, - - - -	1,372 14
Colonial Store, - - - -	1,531 60	Salaries of Physicians, Medicines, &c., -	1,132 50
Colony of Liberia, - - -	63 88	Passage of Emigrants, Charters of Vessels, provisions, &c., - - -	32,357 47
Legacies, - - - - -	14,680 92	Paper for the African Repository and printing, (including an old balance,) -	3,641 50
Emigrants, - - - -	10,295 74	Paper for the Annual Report, Sketches of Liberia, travelling expenses on office business, &c., - - -	2,003 36
African Repository, - - -	2,041 03	Purchase of Territory, - - -	3,622 43
Contingent, - - - -	115 82	Compensation to Agents, and other expenses in collecting funds, - -	5,477 49
Purchase of Territory, - - -	6,000 00	Salaries of the Secretary and clerk of the Am. Col. Soc., rent of office, &c., -	2,771 19
Profit and Loss, - - -	54 66	Profit and Loss, - - - -	866 49
Total Receipts, - - -	$64,973 91	Total Expenditures, - -	$65,951 94
Balances due by the Society, - -	7,480 68	Balances due the Society, $6,422 24	
		Cash on hand, - - - 80 41	6,502 65
	$72,454 59		$72,454 59

Colonization Rooms, *Washington City, January* 1st, 1851.

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-Keeper.*

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

ANSON G. PHELPS,
REUBEN VAN PELT, } *Auditors.*

Speech of the Hon. H. Clay.

Gentlemen of the Society: I have been told it is expected on this occasion that I should say a few words. Few they must be.

This I think is the 34th year of our existence as a society, either in an unincorporated form or incorporated. Of all those who assembled here some 34 years ago to lay its foundations, I believe I am the sole, or almost the sole survivor; and I have reason to be thankful, as I am, to God, for sparing me so long, and for enabling me to witness the progress and the success of the Society up to this time.

I have so often addressed it or other public assemblages, upon the subject which engages the attention of this Society, that really I should have but little to say, if passing events, and especially those which have occurred during the year which has now just closed, did not suggest some upon which I can say a few words.

And in the first place, gentlemen of the Society, allow me to congratulate you upon the whole current of events of the past year, in reference to the Society. It is not my purpose to anticipate what will be disclosed by the reading of the annual report by the secretary; but I may be allowed to say that all the operations of the Society during the past year have been unusually successful and have been greatly blessed. The number of emigrants exported to Africa has been greater than any preceding year, if my information be correct. The amount of money received by the voluntary contributions of those who favor the Society and its objects, has been greater than in any preceding year, and I think I do not mistake the signs of the times when I say that a degree of public favor has been excited in favor of the Society in all parts of the Union to an extent much greater than we have heretofore witnessed. Indeed, gentlemen, some of the very causes which have led to great agitation, to uncommon excitement, and to serious apprehension in respect to the institutions of our country,—those very causes themselves, a happy termination of which I hope has taken place—have conduced to the advantage of the Society; for if I am not mistaken, that portion of the general community from which we experienced the greatest opposition to the proceedings and success of this Society,—I mean the abolitionists of the North—or at least all the moderate and rational portion of them, have become satisfied that to agitate the subject of slavery with a view to the extinction of slavery within the bosoms of the various States in which it is tolerated and exists by law, is vain, fruitless, and a failed effort—that the further agitation of the subject neither benefits those interests intended to be promoted, nor benefits the country at large; that it is a complete failure, and that their exertions hereafter, if governed by motives of humanity and benevolence, should be directed, not to an unattainable object, the extinction of slavery within the States, but to the great purpose of colonization which in its ultimate consequences will lead to the final separation of the two classes of persons that now inhabit this country. (Applause.)

There are circumstances of interest, and of great interest to the Society which have transpired in the course of the past year. The first of which that I would advert to, is the proposition submitted to the House of Representatives during the last

session and renewed at this, to establish under the sanction and auspices of the Government a line of steam packets, which plying regularly between the United States and Africa and other points, shall furnish the means of transporting emigrants from this continent to Africa. It is not merely the submission of such a proposition, but it is the degree of countenance and support which I think I am authorized to say it will receive, whether it shall fail or pass during the present session. If it fail I shall never despair; for, gentlemen, "despair" is a word not in the vocabulary of the Colonization Society. (Applause). We resort to no formidable, violent measures, in the pursuit of our object. Mild, temperate, moderate, exciting no apprehensions, it appeals to Heaven for the continuation of that countenance and support which it has hitherto deigned to extend to us.—These are our principles, and with these and perseverance, success in my opinion is beyond all human doubt. The proposition for a line of steamers, gentlemen, has been renewed, and I am happy to say what is generally known, at least to the community of Washington, that it is in the hands of a gentleman from one of the slave-holding States himself, (Hon. F. P. Stanton, of Tennessee), who has pursued it with an earnestness, and a zeal, and a determination which entitle him to success—which entitle him at least to the thanks of his country for the exertions which he has made. (Applause).

Colonization is a common object for the common benefit of the whole country. It has nothing sectional in it, nothing selfish in its aims. It does not seek to disturb or convulse society. It does not deal with property or the rights of property. It proposes only to concern itself with those who being already free, have the right to determine for themselves whether they will or will not go to the shores of Africa where they can enjoy social, political, and moral advantages which they never can enjoy in this country. Having a common object for the common benefit, it ought to be prosecuted by the common means of all those who are to be beneficiaries of Colonization; and I believe it will be found, though this is not the occasion for the discussion of such a question, that looking into the power of the Government either directly or indirectly, the Constitution of the United States grants ample authority for the performance of this common duty for the common benefit of the country, (applause.) I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the presentation of such a proposition, and I hope that now or at some future and not distant session, I shall be able, if alive, to congratulate you upon the success of the proposition.

Other circumstances have occurred during the progress of the past year which deserve a passing notice, and amongst them, and I may say it is not the least important, is that, under the authority and instruction of Government a competent individual (the Rev. R. R. Gurley) was sent to Africa for the purpose of collecting statistical and other information connected with the interests of the Society—a man well known to us, faithful to the cause, zealous, able and indefatigable in its support. After going to Africa and remaining there for several months he returned, and the result of his labors and the amount of information which he collected during his absence from this country is contained in a volume which has been printed under the authority of the Senate of the United States,

and which deserves general diffusion. The result of it is that nothing but hope and encouragement are held out as to the prospects of the Republic of Liberia, and the other colonies on that coast. I trust that the widest diffusion will be given to the circulation of that work; for wherever it is read, I am persuaded that the conviction will be shared in by all, that colonization is not an idle, visionary, and impracticable scheme, but one full of encouragement, of benefit, and of hope. (Applause.)

Another circumstance deserves a moment's notice, and it will I trust command the very particular attention of the Board of Managers. I allude to the death of an individual of a vast estate at New Orleans, and the bequest to the Society of $25,000 per annum during a period of 40 years—the late Mr. McDonogh of that city, who was personally known to me. We have seen in the newspapers evidence of an attempt on the part of those who are interested in the destruction of that will, to destroy it on the ground of its legal invalidity. I have not examined the subject with that care which would enable me to pronounce an opinion professionally on the question; but I have looked a little into it, and have talked with some who are more familiar with the subject than I am, and the result of my reflections is, that whatever may be the fate of other parts of that will of Mr. McDonogh, this part, which contains a bequest to this Society, will be sustained and upheld by the courts of this country; and if so it will add vastly to the amount of means which can be employed by the Society in the prosecution of its great objects.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer upon the subject of special or particular circumstances or occurrences during the past year. But you will allow me before I sit down, to advert for a moment or two to the great object which engages our thoughts and our anxieties. I have said, and said recently upon another occasion, what I sincerely believe, that of all the projects of the existing age, the scheme of Colonization of the African race upon the shores of Africa is the greatest. In saying this, gentlemen, I did not look at its present condition. I did not look at what it may be ten, fifteen, or twenty years hence; but I endeavored to throw myself in advance and to look at what I believe it will be some fifty or one hundred years hence—what it will be when the continent of America shall have discharged itself mainly of the greatest portion of the African race, and shall have returned them back to the continent of Africa, the original home of their ancestors, and shall have rewarded Africa for the injuries which her sons have suffered, by sending back to their original country a race of men endowed with all the attributes of civilization, of christianity, of arts, of all the benefits in fact which belong to our own race. In making this statement, allow me in order to prevent any misconception or misrepresentation of it, to state what I mean more especially. This Society has constantly protested, from its origin down to the present time, that we have not, do not, and never will interfere upon the subject of slavery as it exists in the several States. It is no part of our purpose or office to do that. But we know that the number of free people of color now in the United States, amount in all probability to no less than about half a million, and that they are annually increasing both by na-

tural causes and by voluntary emancipation on the part of the owner of slaves. We know that the amount will continue to augment from this time forward unless it is lessened by sending to Africa a portion of this race. But this is not all I mean. I believe, and I have as much confidence in the belief as I have in my own existence, that the day will come—distant, very far distant, perhaps, from the present time—but that the day will come when by voluntary emancipation and by the acts of individuals and of the States themselves, without any usurpation of power on the part of the General Government, there will be an end of slavery. Slavery may find its termination in different modes. It may by law. It may by the sword. It may by the operation of natural causes, and it is the operation of natural causes to which I look for its ultimate extinction. As to the sword, nobody I trust would think of the employment of that to put an end to slavery. And as to law, I believe I have had some experience on that subject in the State to which I belong. The question was very much agitated there during the year before last, and I am very much reconciled to the decision of my State although it was contrary to my wishes; in that decision however I acquiesce, for I believe that no safe mode of gradual emancipation by the operation of law can terminate in any one of the States the existence of slavery much, if any sooner than it will be terminated by the operation of natural causes. But I may be asked what is meant by the operation of natural causes. I mean this. Upon one occasion, some twenty years ago, I went more at large than I feel now at liberty to do, into this subject; I went into the *modus operandi* of these natural causes by which in a long time, I am of opinion, there will be an extinction of slavery. There will be an extinction of slavery whenever the density of the population in the United States shall be so great that free labor can be procured by those who want the command of labor, at a cheaper rate and under less onerous conditions than slave labor can be commanded. Although I cannot fix the time when this will occur, I can state the conditions and circumstances under which, when it does occur, there will be a voluntary manumission of slaves. It is not to be by any enforced usurpation or legal action of the General, or any other government at all, but by the voluntary consent of the States and individuals of the States which are alone interested in the subject of slavery, and which have exclusively the right to determine when and how it shall cease to exist. Whenever then you can show to me—and that time will come—that our population shall be three or four times as great as it is, and that will not be a very long time, when we measure time not by the duration of individuals or particular lives of persons, but by the period of national existence—whenever the time comes, as it will come, that our population shall be three or four times as great as at present, that the prices of labor, the wages of manual labor, shall be so reduced that it will be too burdensome on the part of the owners of slaves to raise them for the sake of the labor they perform, whenever it becomes the interest of the slave States and the slaveholders to resort to another kind of labor than that which is furnished by slaves—whenever that epoch comes there will be a termination of slavery. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I am not about, as I said before, to

specify the time that this is going to happen. I cannot do it; but I would repress if I could the impatience of those who are unwilling to wait the slow operation of the means and instrumentalities which God and nature furnish in order to accomplish the great purposes of His Wisdom. (Applause.) I would ask them to repress their impatience, to have more dependance upon the wisdom and providence of God than upon their own limited passions and circumscribed reason. (Applause.) What, in a national point of view, is a century to a nation? Nothing. It took two centuries and more to bring from the shores of Africa her sons now existing in a state of slavery in the United States. It may take two centuries, more or less, to transport their descendants to such an extent as no longer to create any solicitude or anxiety about the few that may linger and remain behind. It may take some two centuries to carry them back; and what, I repeat again, is this in the great workings of national existence and the administration of the affairs of this world by the Providence that controls, directs, and governs them? (Applause.) Gentlemen, I have thought and I have said, that if there ever were a scheme presented to the consideration and acceptance of men which in all its parts, when analized and reduced to all its elements, presents nothing but commendation, it is the scheme of African Colonization. (Applause.) Let us look at it for a moment in rapid detail. In the first place, with respect to the free people of color in the United States. Do you not all know—I wish with respect to these poor creatures to say nothing to wound their feelings, nothing which is not warranted by truth and experience, and sad and daily observation, for it is not their fault, that they are a debased and degraded set. It is not their fault that they are more addicted to crime, and vice, and dissolute manners than any other portion of the people of the United States. It is the inevitable result of the law of their condition. The whites themselves, if placed in the condition of the free people of color in the United States would like them be addicted to vice, and would be exposed to the perpetration of crime in the same way that they are. It is inevitable, I repeat it, from their condition. Look abroad. Look at the annals of our criminal jurisprudence in this country, and in this very city. Look at the daily reports of trials before our Criminal Courts, and who are the subjects of them? Why, a vast majority are free people of color, although the free people of color in comparison to the total aggregate of the whites in this city, are only about one-fourth. Look abroad at the penitentiaries and at the criminal jurisprudence throughout the whole country, and you will find that the proportion, of those who commit crimes and are sent to the penitentiary, of people of color, is infinitely greater than those of any other of the race that compose the aggregate of our population. If this then be, as I have stated, the result of their moral, political, and social condition in the United States, will they not be benefited by going to a country where they will be no longer subjected to the afflicting causes of vice and dissipation? Will they not be benefitted by going to Africa? Why, gentlemen, it is no longer a question to be solved. The fact speaks out for itself. There already exists a community of blacks carrying on a Government, establishing schools,

erecting churches, making laws, promulgating State papers, and in all these respects they will vie and advantageously compare with any one of the States of this Union.—As it respects the free people of color, therefore, nothing but good, and unmixed good, can result from their separation from a community with which, in spite of all the philosophers in Europe or America, from the nature of our feelings and prejudices if you please, they never can be incorporated, and stand upon an equal platform. I do not believe it was ever intended that they should be. If we are told in respect to one of the most intimate and important relations in human life, the relation of marriage,—and it is always pronounced on the performance of that ceremony—that those whom God has united let no man dare put asunder, I think I may with equal propriety say "let those whom God has kept asunder by their physical condition, by their constitution, by their intellects, by their nature, by circumstances upon which it would not be fitting for me to dwell in this place, not be attempted to be united by any presumptuous human power." (Applause).

They, as I have said, then will be benefitted; and who else? Will not the white laborers of the North be benefitted, essentially benefitted, if the black portion of the laboring community is sent to Africa and they are relieved from all competition with them? Go to the cities, and in all of them you will see the struggles which exist there between white and black labor. Even in labor itself there is an indisposition on the part of the white man to mix and mingle with the black; and you will see whether driving a dray or performing any of the laborious offices of society in large cities, the black man is trodden down to a certain extent, and kept in subjection by the superior power of the white man. The white man of the North will be benefitted. The white man of the South will be benefitted.—The slaves of the South will be benefitted. We all know, who know anything of slavery, what corrupting influences are exercised over the slave population of the South, by the neighborhood and intercourse which have taken place between them and the free people of color. They are led off, seduced away, intoxicating liquors are sold them, and they are induced to commit acts of petty larceny against their masters. Indeed every species of irregularity results from the intercourse between the more dissolute portion of the free people of color and the slaves in the slaveholding States. The white man of the North, the white man of the South, the slaves of the South, all, all would be benefitted by that separation which is proposed ultimately to be effected by the Colonization Society. And, gentlemen, if we quit our own coast and go to that of Africa, how much is there to animate the Christian bosom and to encourage us in the prosecution of the great scheme in which we are engaged. There is a whole continent with its millions of inhabitants in a state of utter barbarism. The free people of color then who shall be sent from this country to Africa, will in the end, not in two or three years, not perhaps in a century or two, but ultimately,—finally, as surely as civilization and Christianity are destined to triumph over barbarism and idolatry, redeem her from the misfortunes under which she labors. (Applause.)

But it is not only civilization and Religion, Commerce too, which is at the same time both cause and

effect in the great work of the civilization of the human race, will be vastly benefitted by the intercourse which will arise between this continent and other portions of the globe, with Africa; especially in articles which are becoming scarce in other quarters. Those who have looked at the power of production must have perceived, that there is just cause to apprehend that at no distant day, without some new sources of supply of the article of coffee, independent of other articles produced in Africa, there will be a diminution of supply, and the consequence will be either that consumption must cease or be carried on at a vast expense. But I have drank of the coffee produced in Africa. I have also drank of that from the most celebrated countries, Java, Mocha, Rio Janeiro, and I declare to you that according to my poor taste, African coffee, raised in Liberia, is I think equal to any raised in Java, or Mocha. I think it is the best in the world, except that produced in Java and Mocha.

Commerce then will be benefitted, for commerce will be increased not in that article alone but in a great variety of articles. I understand indeed that it is already augmented to a very great extent within the course of a few years. I have been informed that some of those who were engaged in the commerce of Africa are very unwilling to disclose the extent of it and the profits which are made in the prosecution of commercial enterprizes with that country. If then all portions of our population—if all the interests which must engage the human heart and animate us to exertion, are to be benefitted by the prosecution of the scheme of colonization, tell me, tell me you mad and ultra abolitionists who have been opposing the scheme, what interests, what portion of the population of this country will be injured by the prosecution of the scheme of Colonization? (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we are reproached sometimes for having done so little during the thirty years of our operations, for though the Society has existed for some 34 years it is only about thirty years since the first colonists were sent over. Now so far from being reproachable for that, or seeing anything in that to discourage or to dissuade us from the prosecution of the object, it appears to me to be one of the most fortunate circumstances attending it. If we had thrown some fifteen or twenty thousand a year of free people of color upon the coast of Africa, it would have been impossible to provide suitably for them, and they would have perished by famine. They would have exhibited scenes of disorder and confusion which perhaps might have invoked the repressing power of some nations of Europe. But by slow, gradual, and cautious means, feeling our way as we went, taking a firm foundation, doing nothing precipitately, carrying out persons of good character, making establishments for them, laying the foundations for future and accelerated emigration to that country, we have done precisely what we ought to have done if we had had the command of millions of money and hundreds of thousands of tons to transport emigrants to the coast of Africa. But the time has now arrived when some considerable acceleration may be given to the transporting of emigrants from the United States to Africa.

A friend in my eye, who is better informed upon the subject than myself or any other person, has told me that if there were adequate means

in money and tonnage to transport to Africa all who are willing to go, he would stake his existence upon the fact that ten thousand could be induced to go from this country during the current year. I am not prepared to say that that number would not be greater than it would be expedient to send this year if we had the means; but we must increase the number considerably and go on from year to year increasing the number in proportion as subsistence is raised in Africa, and we have the means of rendering comfortable the emigrants during the first few years after their arrival there. That is the course which things ought to take. In the mean time, if Government shall think proper, through the means of steam packets, or the employment of the Navy, to assist in that article which is the most difficult for the Society to command, the transportation of emigrants to that country, it would be of vast importance to the institution. Let us go on, increase the colonists, multiply the means to sustain them, and after some years, I will not say how long, the colonists will have so increased, commerce will have so augmented, that by the mere commercial marine which will be playing between the shores of that continent and this, vast numbers will be carried out at an expense infinitely less than that hitherto incurred.

Gentlemen of the Society, I have been hitherto considering this institution, in respect to the great object which led to its formation; but I should not have performed my whole duty in the brief address which I propose to make to you on the present occasion, if I limited my observations to that single point. There is another great object connected with Colonization, and only less important than that, which is to be achieved by the successful colonization of the Western Coast of Africa. I allude to the suppression of the slave trade. (Applause.) Upon that subject I believe all hearts are united—not only all American hearts, but all the hearts of Christendom are united on the propriety of suppressing that odious traffic in slaves with Africa. What is the best means of accomplishing that object? It has been a *desideratum* amongst the statesmen of Europe as well as with some statesmen of our own country. They thought that the best mode of suppressing the slave trade, was by keeping up constantly squadrons on the coast of Africa, to prevent the egress of slaves from that continent to be brought over to any portion of this. That has been in operation now for a number of years. By our treaty with Lord Ashburton—the treaty of Washington I think it is called—we undertook to provide a squadron of some 80 guns, which should assist in the accomplishment of the object, the suppression of the slave trade. It was to endure five years, at the end of which time either of the two contracting parties was left at liberty to put an end to the continuance of the squadron on that coast. But it has so happened, that in spite of all the exertions of the French, and English, and American squadrons upon the coast of Africa, the slave trade has been prosecuted to an extent perhaps not less than prior to any repressing efforts on the part of the three great Powers. A document was laid before us the other day in the Senate of the United States, which shows that in four years 173,000 slaves were carried to the single province of Rio Janeiro, without taking into account the number which may have been carried to the other provinces of the Brazi-

lian Empire, and without any account of the number, which we know, from year to year, have been carried to the Island of Cuba. I believe the Emperor of Brazil has recently entered into some diplomatic arrangements with Great Britain, by which he consents to put a termination to the slave trade—but so had Spain done, yet for years after it was to have terminated, according to the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, it was prosecuted with undiminished vigor in the Island of Cuba. In the first place, the real or the imaginary interests of the Brazilians prompt them to desire the introduction of slaves. I do not know exactly what slaves cost upon the coast of Africa, perhaps some $8 or $10 a piece, and in Brazil they cost some hundreds of dollars. A friend the other day said to me, "Why, Mr. Clay, if horses in Virginia were at $5 a piece, and in New York a hundred dollars, do you think it would be practicable to employ any means whatever to prevent horses from Virginia going to New York?" And if slaves are worth only perhaps one twentieth or one thirtieth part on the coast of Africa of what they are in the Brazils, if there is a disposition to tolerate the slave trade, notwithstanding any treaty stipulation in which, in the face of Christendom, the Emperor of Brazil may feel himself constrained to enter, why, gentlemen of the Society, it will be impossible to suppress it by all the means of any squadrons that may be employed upon the coast. But *we* have solved the great and interesting question as to the mode in which the slave trade ought to be suppressed. We have shown the most effectual and complete method by which there can be an end put to that abominable traffic, and that is by Colonization. (Applause.) Three hundred and fifty miles of the Western Coast of Africa are now occupied by colonists sent out from this country, and for the entire extent of that coast there is not a single slave *depot*, not a solitary slave ever exported from any part of that three hundred and fifty miles to any portion of the world whatever; and all this is the result of the labors of the friends of this Society. (Applause.) And any man who will reflect will see that if there is a coast inhabited all along by persons interested in the suppression of the trade—by persons who have sympathy with the race, and who themselves have a knowledge of the afflictions which that race must suffer if carried into South America and sold into slavery, who, prompted by their own interests, are disposed to put an end to the slave trade—if they occupy the margin of the coast, the outlets of the coast, if they hold the door through which, if any slave comes out of Africa he must pass, is it possible for him to go away from Africa to America? Colonization, then, is the only certain, sure, and effectual remedy for the suppression of the slave trade; and if we could prevail——, I wish Her Majesty was present, as I find we are honored on this occasion with the presence of the President of the United States, (applause,) and I could address her and him, and persuade them to employ the two or three millions which I suppose are expended per annum in the attempt to suppress the slave trade by the three Powers,—if I could persuade Her Majesty and the Chief Magistrate of our glorious Republic (applause) to lessen the expense of keeping up those squadrons, and divert a portion of the money employed in maintaining them to the prosecution of the business of Colo-

nization, of extending settlements till the whole Western Coast of Africa was occupied by one continuous, uninterrupted line of colonies, there would be a vast saving of money, and what perhaps is not less important, a vast saving of human life. We all know the dangers of that inhospitable coast,—inhospitable, understand me, not in respect to the black race, for our colonists there have suffered less than the colonists of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock suffered during the first thirty years of their existence—but inhospitable to the white man's constitution, it being almost a grave to him. I would not withdraw, but diminish the squadrons, and appropriate the amount thus saved by the diminution to the prosecution of the scheme of Colonization. And if that could be done, as soon as the whole Western Coast of Africa should be lined with colonies, all mankind would exult in that glorious termination they have all been sighing for and anxious to witness, and the complete suppression of that most odious of all human traffic. (Great applause.)

Gentlemen, I do not know how I have been drawn to say so much as I have done. It has been without any *malice prepense*, I assure you, for I came here not very well, intending but to say a few words. I feel very conscious that I have trespassed too much upon your time, and have prevented you hearing read, what the Secretary will now proceed to do, the report of the proceedings of the Society during the last year.

The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amidst great applause.

The Secretary then read an abstract of the Annual Report of the Society.

Speech of the Rev. Dr. Fuller.

Mr. President and gentlemen, an humble pastor, occupied with the spiritual duties of my ministry in the city of Baltimore, I have hitherto declined all invitations to visit other cities for the purpose of addressing public bodies. As I am not a member of any Colonization Society, I was somewhat surprised that your Board sent me a kind invitation to meet with you to-night. I felt and appreciated the honor; but I felt much more. I felt it to be a call from God to enlist my poor efforts at once in behalf of the cause of colonization—the dignity and grandeur, nay I will say the absolute necessity of which ought to be felt by every citizen in this republic. I ask permission then of you, sir, and of my fellow citizens, to express myself to-night with the utmost freedom, as I utter only my individual sentiments and speak for no society* but for colonization at large.

The President, (Mr. Clay,) Proceed, sir.

Dr. Fuller: There are three of us announced to address this meeting. We thank you, Mr. President, in common with our fellow-citizens here assembled, for your able and

*The sentiment here uttered by the Speaker is well understood. The Society is not to be held responsible for the sentiments uttered by any individual Speaker. Because a gentleman speaks at its Anniversary, is not a sufficient reason why the Society should endorse all his sentiments.

The principles, objects and aims of the Society are set forth in its Constitution.—For them it is responsible—but not for what any individual, north or south, may either speak or write.

eloquent address this evening. While it was being delivered, I said to Brother Latrobe "you might as well put your speech into your pocket." As Mr. Stanton has the House of Representatives, I am sure he will address that body. As this is my only opportunity, I hope I may be allowed to express myself freely.

Pardon me, sir, while I mention a little anecdote. Dr. Barrow was the most able and eloquent man in England in the time of Charles First.—That monarch once said "Barrow is not a fair man; he never leaves anything for any body to say after him." What must we feel, then, when we have not Dr. Barrow, but a gentleman of whom I may say he has not only touched every subject, but, *nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*—he never touches anything without embellishing it with his eloquence? (Applause.)

Sir, I am a Southern man, and surely this enterprise ought to be as popular in every Southern State as it is in Virginia, and Maryland, and Tennessee and Georgia. Its object is the retromission to Africa of free colored persons with their own consent. To this article of its constitution the Society has strictly confined itself. Indeed it is absurd to suppose that it could violate that article. Why should any Southern man object to it? And is it not the strangest thing that there should be found men at the North, calling themselves the friends of the black man, and yet resisting and calumniating such an institution?

Gentlemen, patriotism was once a word of high and holy import. In the ancient states of Greece it was a sort of religion, to which was subordinated every other relation—that of parent, husband, child. It was formerly a term of sublime emphasis. Would to God it had the same high and holy meaning now—it would enlist multitudes in your noble cause. But Jesus Christ has taught us a higher duty than even that which a patriot owes to his country. It is the duty we owe to man as man. Before his time patriotism was the highest virtue. He taught man philanthropy. It is in proportion as we catch His spirit, and embody it in our benevolence, that we shall secure the favor of Him who has all power in Heaven and on earth to prosper or defeat our enterprises. It is therefore to the Christian philanthropist that colonization ought to be a subject of the profoundest interest.

I wish to glance at this matter for a moment with reference to the colored population in this country, who have been born free. Now I ask any man what can be done for them and with them to compare with the change proposed by this enterprise? If we regard only what is physical, how desirable is such a change? The climate of Africa is much more congenial to these people than that of the Northern States. Moreover, what are their prospects there? Year after year and wave after wave is bringing to "our shores thousands of hardy white men, who are preferred to the African men—enured to an indefatigableness of toil, a severity of diet, and a thrift and parsimony which the negro either will not or cannot endure.—And no man can visit the Northern States, after an absence of ten years, without being struck with this fact, that the Irishman and the German, either has superseded or is superseding the free colored man in those pursuits by which the laboring classes procure a livelihood. But to me, I confess, the mere physical disadvantages of any situation are little campared with the moral

evils. And in this view what a blessed change would this be to the African? A land of promise would be opened to him, and not a land wrested from strangers, but the very country assigned to him by his Maker. Fanatics may rave and madden around the land and expectorate their rhapsodies about color being no crime; nobody says it is a crime; but it does create a caste, the barriers of which can never be broken down. The free colored man may be rich, he may be upright, he may educate his family, nay he may have a vote, but he never can rise to social equality with the white man. He and his posterity will be, and they will always feel themselves to be, a degraded race. And now who need be told of the sad moral consequences of such a feeling of degradation? In the first place such a feeling of conscious inferiority must impair if it does not wholly destroy all self-respect. No man can resist the testimony of everybody around him; and what is the testimony everywhere uttered by society with reference to the colored man? How can he elevate himself above that public opinion which he sees and feels and hears from every body around him? He lives, he moves, he has his being in the midst of humiliation. His spirit must cower and sink, for he cannot recognise in himself what every body denies him. He must estimate himself by the estimation in which he is held by all.

Then, I ask in the next place, what chance has the free colored man to develope those powers of mind which the Almighty God has conferred upon him? I know there are those who deny to the colored man powers, which by any cultivation can raise him to an intellectual equality with the white man. But I am a Christian minister, and I have more than one perfectly satisfactory answer to that objection. First, the infidel alone must present it, for revelation tells him that the whole human family have descended from a common parentage.

Then again I ask, where has education, civilization, Christianity given the black man a fair chance?—Certainly not in the West Indies where the black man is little better than a slave now. Certainly not in St. Domingo, where misplaced confidence in older nations, has been perpetually fomenting discord. Certainly not in these United States, for in not one of them, does the colored man feel the stimulus to intellectual improvement. But your Society, gentlemen, has furnished the most conclusive answer to that objection.

There stands Liberia, a republic which, though of yesterday, is already commanding the attention of the oldest cabinets of Europe, and has taken her place among the nations. The State papers of that young republic compare quite favorably with similar documents in this country, and I do say that the last message of her Governor is superior in good common sense, in talent and in literary merit, to communications proceeding even from the executive departments of some of our States.

No candid man will deny to the African, powers which if unfolded would raise him to an equality with other men; but these powers can never be unfolded in this country. What prospect has the colored man? Is the bar, the pulpit, the medical chair, open to him? Can he ever hope to take a seat in the capitol? Can he aspire to the honors and appointments of this Government? Above all, can he ever enjoy what is most important to mental development, I mean the quickening, invigorating influences of the highest literary society? To propose these

questions, is to answer them. And how sad a lot it is for a human being that neither he nor his children can ever aspire to the same honors as his fellow men.

I will only mention one other sore calamity, attending the conscious inferiority of the free black man in this country. He not only belongs to an inferior caste, but to a distinct race, and that race in continual contact with another race who enjoy, above all people on earth, the very advantages from which he is excluded. We live in a country, where let a man but be a white man, and he need not look up to any other human being as his superior by birth. (Applause.) There is no emolument, no honor to which a man may not elevate himself. The proudest places in this land have been and are now adorned by men who have been the architects of their own greatness, and have won their way in spite of a thousand obstacles, by the patient force of a true heart and an unconquerable will. I can point to such a man not very far from me, (referring to his Excellency, the President of the United States, the Hon. Millard Fillmore, who was next him.)

All this the free colored man sees and knows. He sees and knows too that it is nothing but his color—the color given him by his God—which shuts him out from this noble and ennobling competition, and what must be the consequence upon him? It is impossible, but that the worst passions, envy, malice, vindictiveness, if not atheism, will rankle in his bosom, rendering him unhappy to himself and dangerous to the State. Already we have here and there fearful premonitions flashing up now and then. Let me tell you that nothing but fear represses the utterance, loud and deep, of passions which will only be the more fearful because they cannot find any vent. If the free colored man is to live in this land, he must be raised to social equality, and amalgamate with the white man, which will never be; or else he will be discontented and unhappy. He were unfit for freedom and not a man if he could be satisfied with his condition.

Up to this point, Mr. President, and beloved hearers, I have been speaking of the free colored population of this country. If we regard the enterprise only with reference to them, how wise and beneficent is it! For my part I was very glad the other day, that the fine little State where I first drew breath, and which is only dearer to me, because it has been so much misunderstood and misrepresented—I was glad to see South Carolina refusing to repel from her bosom her native free colored people. I trust that she will yet unite with Georgia, and Tennessee, and Virginia, and my adopted State, equally dear to me, Maryland, in transporting these people to a more congenial home.

All good men have mourned that this metropolis of our land has been so often the scene of wrath and bitterness, and strife, among those who are descended from such parents as the founders of our Republic, and who are bound together by such ties, and ought to love each other as brethren. Let us rejoice to night that here all is peace, harmony and love—love to God, love to one another, and love to the whole human family. We are gathered here to-night, not in an arena for sectional contests and conflicts, but in a temple, where with one heart and one mind, we are consulting for the success of an enterprise which turns into utter contempt all the petty

ephemeral issues of selfish intrigue and political ambition. (Applause.)

Honor me now with your attention while I say a word in reference to another class of Africans; I mean those who are slaves and whom their masters may choose to set free that they may be carried to Africa or some other asylum. Mr. President, I am not only a Southern man, but a large slaveholder, and therefore I may speak from the bottom of my heart. I lament the mischief which has been done by the fanatical agitation of this great subject at the North. If Satan had had choice of an agency, he could not have selected an agency more fitted for his purpose, or more disastrous to the cause of truth and humanity. I am not surprised that the South is indignant. I ask those who know these men at the North, I ask their neighbors and their fellow citizens, whether they are men fit to be counsellors in anything demanding counsel? I know there are honorable exceptions. I impeach no man's motives, but I think such will be found to be the case. Are they men in whom their neighbors would confide any great interest? How preposterous then that these men should think of becoming counsellors to the whole South upon the most delicate and difficult of all questions! But while I speak thus of Northern fanaticism, I am bound also, as an honest man and Christian, to confess that there is too morbid a sensitiveness upon this subject at the South. It was not so once. I think our forefathers (and you, Mr. President, remember well the time) were not so. We have abundant documents showing that political bodies and religious bodies in the slaveholding States were wont formerly to discuss this subject, and we ought now to discuss it, generously, calmly, conscientiously; and while we should repel all impertinent intermeddling, it ought not to move us from the faithful and calm discharge of our duty. I am persuaded that the South is destined to furnish the truest friends of the African, and if Congress would only do what, in my poor judgment, a wise, just, and beneficent government ought to do, there are multitudes at the South who would bring to the cause their whole influence and a spirit of the most noble disinterestedness and sacrifice.

I hope that after the late storms the tendency of the elements is to repose. I believe the late crisis has passed. I believe this in spite of certain symptoms, and portents in various quarters. I do not mind these things. When Counsellor Oxenstiern's son refused a place in the councils of Sweden, pleading inexperience, that sagacious old statesman said to his son, "Go see *quam parva sapientia regitur mundus*" —by how little wisdom this world is governed. And I have learned that harangues in Congress or out of Congress, or in State Legislatures, are no fair exponents of the calm good sense, conservatism and patriotism of the people. I believe, many thanks to you, Mr. President, and others, that the crisis has passed, but you know that the danger to the country has not passed. The true peril is that which I am afraid politicians overlook.

It is in the religious sentiment of the entire North; not the abolition, but the religious sentiments of the entire North with reference to slavery. Politics is the science of compromises; religion knows no compromise. There is the danger. Unless something effectual be done to meet that religious sentiment, what are we to look for? Why, sir, even if a statesman were an infidel,

he must act in this country as if he considered the Bible to be true, because his constituents believe the Bible. He is not a good statesman, though an infidel, who does not act upon the principle that the Bible is true. The Bible in this country is the *lex legum*, the law of laws. The Bible is settling, and the Bible will settle every question in this country of ours; and unless something can be done to meet the calm religious sentiment of the North, there will be a deep and a deepening feeling there and consequent resentment at the South, and a growing estrangement between the North and the South.

Why, as a mere political question, slavery has in it nothing very exciting or very alarming, but we are a religious people, and, as a religious question, slavery will always be a matter of intense interest and feeling.

And now looking upon this subject in a religious light, permit me to say that there are some things upon which our brethren at the North ought seriously to ponder. In the first place, they ought to reflect that we of the South, are not responsible for the introduction of Africans into this country. They were introduced here in spite of the protests of many of the colonists. In the next place they ought to reflect that the African has been vastly improved by his transportation to these shores. The African here is a superior animal to the African on his native continent. In point of comfort, I speak from personal observation, when I say, with a kind master he is far better cared for, more comfortable, more happy, than most of the peasantry of Europe. It was only the other morning that I had to go out sometime before the rising of the sun to start from Baltimore to Washington. I left my servants in comfortable beds, without the slightest or remotest idea of rising before the sun, and then to dress as warmly as I dress, and eat the same food that I eat. Near the railroad track I met an Irishman, and though the morning was bitter, the poor fellow, thinly clad, stood shivering in the cold. Upon inquiry, I found that he regarded himself as exceedingly fortunate in having secured the place which he held on the road. He told me he was able to furnish his family with fuel, and with food, and to pay his monthly rent regularly. To do this he had to rise every morning about three o'clock, winter and summer, and labor until dark, Sundays not excepted. An overcoat was a luxury of which he never dreamt. Now looking to what is merely physical, what friend of the slave, would wish him to change places with that laborer? But it is the religious blessings which the African has enjoyed in this country which is his greatest advantage—And here let me tell a singular and and most important fact. In all our missionary stations there are at this day altogether fifty-six thousand converts from heathenism. In the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches at the South there are 256,000 professed African believers in Jesus Christ. If these Africans had not come to this country, probably not one of them would ever have heard the Gospel. By being brought here, there are now five times as many members of those churches, as are to be found in all the missionary churches put together.

I think the North ought to ponder these questions; I think the Abolitionists if they are honest men ought to ponder these questions, and it would silence much of their

clamor about the abominations of slavery. But there are certain concessions which we of the South ought also to be prepared to make, as honest men. I know that man is fallen, and I know that he would not be fallen if he had once opened his mind to unwelcome truth. I therefore will not dwell upon these concessions which the South ought to make. We ought candidly to admit—as every Southern statesman who has travelled at the North I think will confess—that while slavery enriches the individual, it impoverishes the State, fostering indolence and luxury, which have always been the bane of governments. I think I may well appeal to every Christian, whether when God says, "Search the Scriptures," the human mind ought to be shut out from reading the Scriptures; whether when Jesus Christ says, "Those whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," husbands and wifes ought to be separated; whether labor ought to be received without compensation.

In a conversation with the late Mr. Calhoun, he said to me, that he thought we did pay fair wages for the labor of our slaves. I do not go into the calculation; I do not go into the dollars and cents—it is the principle for which I am contending. Above all, to a generous mind, perfect dependence is ever an irresistible plea for protection.

Hence we will die for a woman. She is dependant upon us, and she has a claim which no brave and generous man can resist. I know no men more generous than our Southern planters. They are quick of resentment, and very justly indignant at the gross assaults of the Abolitionists; but left to their own free and generous impulses, they are the very men to admire and to imitate Antoninus, and other Roman emperors, who became guardians of the slaves and extended over them a paternal government.

But I will not dwell on these concessions which the South ought to make. There is one concession which I made some four years ago, when writing to Dr. Wayland from South Carolina, and to which I have heard scarcely a single objection.

It is, that slavery is not a good thing, and a thing to be perpetuated. I believe there are few at the South who are not willing to admit that. And if that be admitted, I ask may not this great country come to understand itself? Would it not be oil upon the surface of the troubled waters, and a rainbow in our troubled sky? Might we not hope that at length an equilibrium would be restored in our moral atmosphere, if these concessions were made. If the fanatics at the North would cease to denounce every slaveholder as an abomination, and an iniquity, and if the fanatics of the South would cease to advocate the perpetuation of slavery as a blessing, it seems to me that a common platform and a middle ground of love and brotherly feeling might be found, upon which all good men might stand, and in a spirit of love and generous philanthropy, consult as to the duty of the race towards this other race, which in the Providence of God is placed in our power. We of the South cannot see any project, contemplating the continued residence of the African population among us, which we regard as worthy of our attention. Nor can we see any project of emancipating them which we do not regard as most disastrous to both races. In the Providence of God, a number of these human beings have been confided to me, and the question

has perpetually oppressed my conscience. I have prayed and wept before God, as I asked what was to be the end of all this?

In those States where there were but a few of these human beings, and where slave labor might be expensive, prospective laws were passed for the extinction of the institution. These laws will never be passed in those states which lie far to the South. That is, their interest will never pass such laws, because upon the rich lands there, slave labor will always be the cheapest and most profitable labor.

Moreover, society would be subverted by the manumission of such a vast multitude belonging to another race. Here am I, a Christian—I look to God in this matter and to God alone. I have ceased from man long ago. If any thing be done, it must be prompted by a Christian spirit and principle.

But these provisional enactments have been purely political. The object has been to rid the State of a supposed evil. They have all reversed the edicts of Jesus Christ; they have placed patriotism above philanthropy; they have acted as if man were made for the good of society, whereas society is made for the good of man. They have overlooked the man, and acted for the good of society. As a Christian, I could have no sympathy with such movements. They regard the man as little, the State as everything, whereas with my Bible in my hand, a single immortal human being has a dignity far transcending the dignity of this whole nation, regarded merely as a nation, for he will live, when this nation as a nation shall have been forgotten—when this world shall have been burned out.

If we look to the West Indies, we Southern people see nothing to invite us to pursue the policy which was adopted there. Indeed I am bound to say I do not think the experiment of the West Indies a fair one. The movement there was not a noble, spontaneous, generous impulse, originating a great enterprise. It was forced upon the planters. They, therefore, yielded everything reluctlantly, and what was yielded grudgingly, was received ungraciously, with no grateful feeling to the master, but rather with a feeling of aversion, as towards a tyrant who had been compelled to do this tardy and reluctant justice. Sir, I turn, and turn, and turn, and see no ray of light but in colonization. (Applause.)

At a very early period, you recollect, sir, that Virginia made an application to the President for a tract of land, on the western frontier, for this purpose. Shortly after that, an able memorial was presented to Congress; various memorials have followed up to this time, but Congress has done nothing. Liberia is not a colony founded by Government; it deserves your special attention because it is a Republic created, fostered, almost entirely, by private christian benevolence. But we think now that the time has come, as this resolution says, and as your President has most eloquently said, when we ought not in vain to invoke the attention of this Government, and the interposition of Congress in behalf of this great enterprise. It seems to me there can be no sort of doubt that Congress possesses the power to make appropriations for this object. And shall millions be spent about a plot of a few square miles, while truth, and mercy, and justice, and philanthropy, and benevolence, apply in vain? Congress, I suppose, has hitherto been unwilling to commit this nation to a cause which

was regarded as an experiment, and by many as a Utopean experiment. But this is no longer an experiment. There stands Liberia, and if so much has been done by individual benevolence, what cannot be achieved if the wisdom, and power, and resources, of this great Republic were devoted to this great object.

Your Society, Mr. President, as you remarked, distinctly recognizes the right of property at the South. You said, when you took that chair, which you now fill, and which, God grant, you may long live to adorn, that it was only upon this condition, that Mr. Randolph, yourself, and others, who have gone, gone away, were members. The rights of the South to the peculiar species of property to which reference is made, must not be touched. A great number of us at the South prefer to hold that species of property. Our rights must be held sacred. How abominable a thing it is that a man should thrive and prosper and hold an office under the Constitution, and yet seek to violate an express article of that Constitution because it conflicts, forsooth, with his own individual opinions! The duty of that man, if he be honest, is clear. Let him seek to procure an amendment to the Constitution. If he fail of that, his conscience cannot charge him with any responsibility in the matter.—People may differ about the language of the Bible as to slavery, but no one can doubt the language of the Bible as to obedience to the laws. (Applause.) The rights of the South, I repeat, must be respected; they must be held sacred. I say again that if anything be done for slavery, it must be done by the South. I say, if Congress were willing to do, what I humbly think Congress ought to do, there are multitudes like myself willing to impoverish themselves if they can only see that they can do anything for the minds and the souls of those beings committed to their charge. And I say if these appropriations are due to such citizens, we have a right to demand them. Year after year, thousands and tens of thousands are voted in yonder halls to encourage improvements in the arts and sciences—for inventions not only to benefit but to destroy our race. Every project to explode gunpowder and hurl the missiles of death seek and find favor. Is it not time that some portion of the resources of this Government should be applied to the greatest of all improvements—the improvement of the human race?—It is due to Africa. God calls upon us to make some atonement for wrongs which have been done by our forefathers to that continent. I say, there are multitudes this day who are willing to impoverish themselves and their children if they can see how they can benefit these human beings, and Congress ought to meet such cases promptly. Let us improve man. That is the highest aim. Now I am going to venture an opinion. I think Congress ought to go further. I am no statesman, no politician, I am an humble minister of God, and what I am now about to say will perhaps seem like insanity to some people, but if it be insanity, it has come upon me as insanity never came upon man—by the painful, prayerful, calm, protracted contemplation of a great subject. Let not what I say then be scouted; let it be weighed and pondered calmly. I am supposing now that there are many at the South who are anxious to do something for the African, but see not what they can do; and I am supposing that the multitude at the North feel, as I know they feel, a willingness to make sacrifices for this purpose; but they see

how valueless are harangues, and books, and pictures, and prints, because the destiny of the African is in the hands of his master. Supposing this state of things to exist, and I believe it exists to an extent of which few have any conception, cannot the legislation of this Union be wisely adjusted so as to meet such an emergency? I am not given to circumlocution when I have anything to say. What I wish to say is this: Does not a sacred duty to Africa and the salvation of this country, truth, love, justice, require that Congress should be ready to interpose not merely to deport, but to redeem, to purchase the slaves of those who are willing to engage in an arduous, tedious, but most sublime undertaking? "Why," says the abolitionist, "we never will consent to that in the world; it is acknowledging the right of the master." But is that man a friend to the African? The right exists, the power exists; no earthly authority can destroy it; and is not the elevation of a human being better than the maintainance of these absurd abstractions. I put out of view the fact that we of the South obtained a great part of these slaves from the North, who imported them into our southern harbours. I wish to mention a very singular fact, and if Dr. Wayland was here, I have no doubt he would not object to my mentioning it. At the time he was writing letters to me against slavery, and I putting it on the true ground on which it stood, he was situated in Providence, R. I., and I in Beaufort, S. C. Some of my ancestors recollected the time when out of Providence the slaveships brought slaves into Beaufort, S. C., and my forefathers bought them from the very people who built up Providence. But I put out of view that fact: and I say to those abolitionists, "admit for argument's sake a calumny, which I deny and detest, that we are robbers; suppose your child is in the hands of a robber, will you redeem that child and set him free, or will you say it would be admitting the right of the robber and I will not redeem him." Such a man is not the friend of the slave.

With far greater reason, the South might object to this proposition. So far as the South objects to it nothing can be done. Whatever be done in that matter must be done by the South. But there are multitudes at the South who would not hesitate for one moment as to their course. Although the pioneers in such an undertaking would have to endure things hard to be endured, but conciousness of duty performed can sustain man in a great deal. Oh, God, thou canst sustain a man in anything. Future generations would honor the memory of such men, and in them would be fulfilled the language of Jesus Christ, "The fathers persecuted the prophets, the children built their tombs and garnished their sepulchres."

I feel that I owe a sort of apology for the length to which I have been carried, unconsciously to myself, but I fear not without the very distinct consciousness of this assembly. Mr. President, you have well touched upon the commerce and great resources of Africa. You have said all that can be said, and better than we can say it in relation to that subject. You have spoken, too, of the slave trade, which can be more effectually suppressed by Colonization than by all the combined fleets of England, France and the United States. You mentioned, too, the line of steamers to Africa. The days of miracles are passed, but God can still open the sea to achieve his purposes, and I trust

that he is saying to you as he said to Moses, "Stretch out thy hand and the sea shall be opened." (Applause.)

If I could only gain the attention of my friends here to-night, and especially if I could fix your mind, sir, and the minds of others here before me, to the subject which I have been presenting, I should thank God and take courage. I know that what I have proposed will seem to many, at first, as the dream of a visionary. In the vocabulary of this world, wisdom and folly too often mean, not the compliance of our views with truth or falsehood, but their compliance with public opinion. Hence the first insurrection of the human mind against the usurpations of society is always regarded as a sort of insanity. People say, he is a strange man uttering strange things; but if the strange things uttered by that strange man be true things, they will not be lost. No testimony, however feeble, in favor of great principles can ever be lost. It will awaken an echo somewhere. I speak with great humility, but with perfect confidence, when I say, that what I have proposed to-night, with perhaps only a few sympathizing with me, will one day be regarded not as the chimera of an enthusiast, but as the language of truth and soberness. And if it demands time and money, what is time and money to this nation, when undertaking such a great and sublime work? The mere interest on the national debt of England for ten years would buy every slave in this country. And as to the time, chronic evils always demand chronic remedies. Look at God in the creation; in the deliverance of his people from Egypt; in the Redemption. God tells men that nothing great can be done without patience and time. It is only little, weak and contracted minds who hope to do any great thing in a hurry.

Whatever we do, Mr. President and members of the Colonization Society, let us do it with faith—faith in God, faith in ourselves, faith in our great cause. Nothing contributes so much; no element in human conduct contributes half so much to success as the confidence of succeeding. By faith Leonidas fought and fell at Thermopylæ; and his noble devotion rendered Greece invincible. By faith, Columbus saw an unknown land and resolved to reach it. It was faith that sustained him, as he travelled from Court to Court, seeking sympathy and aid. Alexander wept for another world to conquer. Columbus revealed that other world and he resolved to conquer it; and when at midnight upon the tempestuous ocean, his whole crew, and all the officers demanded of him the abandonment of the voyage, so utterly hopeless were they, what but an unextinguishable faith cheered him and assured him that in three days his toil should be crowned with success? What would have become of this nation if faith had not sustained our forefathers in the struggles of the revolution? Faith must ever be the strength and consolation of all who will do great things. In all great enterprises we may say with perfect truth that a great deal depends upon faith.—"Blessed is he that hath not seen and yet believeth."

As patriots, ought one of you, my hearers, to leave this house without a deep interest in this matter? But my dear fellow citizens, God knows I love you, and I love this dear country, and I love this Union from the bottom of my heart. If such a scheme as I have suggested could be adopted, if instead of strife and

sectional animosity, the members of this Union could all engage in such an enterprise, not only would all the selectest blessings of God descend upon this nation, but the very co-operation would bind us together by bonds most delightful and most indissoluble. And how pleasant a sight, instead of sectional strife, and bickering and animosity, to see the members from the different portions of this Union, consenting to make generous sacrifices, and consulting together as to the best means of making some reparation to Africa for the injury which has been done her. Across the very highway which was once vexed and crossed by the keel of the slave ship, our stars and stripes would be returning to injured Africa her long lost children, and returning them not imbruted as they came, but, by the blessing of God, overruling the avarice of man, civilized, elevated, converted, and prepared to regenerate that degraded continent.

Sir, such a scheme and our country is safe. Not "*esto perpetua,*" it may be perpetual, but "*erit perpetua,*" it shall be perpetual, would then be written upon that column which is rearing itself on yonder common. (Applause.) But if something practical and effectual connot be done, vainly do we cry peace, peace, when there is no peace.

Born at the South, educated at the North; intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the North and South, as I am; in daily contact with Northern and Southern feeling, I utter my most solemn conviction to-night—may God avert the prophecy—that the elements of mischief, the *ignes supposititi*, the concealed fires of a volcano, are gathering under our feet. If something cannot be done, nothing will save this country from the agitation of the slavery question, and from the civil—I put my finger to my lips, I cannot go on, I cannot look at it, I cannot speak it, but I see it, I see it,—that nothing will save this country from the agitation of the slavery question and civil conflict. Your venerable head, Mr. President—for your days I fear are almost numbered, and the place which you fill you will soon see no more; may God Almighty prepare for you a blessed place in Heaven,—your venerable head will be reposing in the tomb, and the shout and discord of a fratricidal war will not disturb your sleep. But some of us may be young enough to see that dismal hour. Unless something be done, I utter my solemn conviction, when I say that yonder monument will rear itself to the skies, only to have written upon it the epitaph of this Union: or rather it had better be not completed at all; it had better be left like those unfinished pillars which we see in our church yards, which tell of a life broken off suddenly in its midst; its hopes, its promises, its pride, its prospects, all blasted at a single stroke. I love my country with my whole heart. I can say with the Roman, "would that I had a hundred lives to give to my country." I love this Union with my whole heart. May God spread over it the banner of his protection. But much as I love my country, I love *man* even more than I love my country. And it is as the highest achievement of philanthropy that colonization has my devoutest prayers for its success. In this light it has dignity, it has grandeur, transcending the language of thought. Its end is the noblest which can be proposed by any human mind.

Statesmen and Conquerors who mould the external policy of Kings, have no greatness when compared with the humble individual, who en-

lightens and saves a human soul. Such a man works upon imperishable materials and works for eternity. He shares with Jesus Christ—I speak it with reverence—in his sublimest glories, regenerating the human spirit of reason from degradation, and better than all to an ever-glowing immortality, an immortality which shall still be expanding and brightening when all the vain records of this world shall have been forgotten—when the stars shall have burned out, and when the Sun itself shall have been extinguished.

The resolution offered by the Rev. Dr. Fuller, was then adopted.

Speech of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

Mr. President: At this late hour, I scarcely feel courage to address the meeting. I have little to add to what has been already said, and far better said by you, sir, than can be said by me. I rise mainly for the purpose of stating a few facts and drawing from them a few inferences that occur to me. On this day twenty-five years ago you, Mr. President, sat in that chair in a neighboring hall, and I had the honor to address you upon the subject of colonization. In that quarter of a century we have both been laborers. You have done everything in the high places of the land, to give honor, glory and success, to our great and mighty cause; in a very humble sphere, I have been watching your labors and deriving confidence from your success. And if I have come from a neighboring town, as I did a quarter of a century ago, to address you, sir, in the chair, I may congratulate the Society and the public that the President who then occupied the seat, which he occupies to-night, still lives to encourage us with his voice. (Applause.)

I have listened with great pleasure to everything that has been said by the gentleman who has preceded me. I have listened to his eloquent advocacy of the views which he has expressed. But looking to this meeting as a meeting peculiarly devoted to the purposes of colonization, I desire to say a few words with reference to the practicability of colonization. When we met together twenty-five years ago, how many were there that thought colonization practicable? How many were there not who pointed at us the finger of scorn and derision and laughed at the feeble efforts we were then endeavoring to make? Is colonization practicable now? Has aught been done to demonstrate it? What has been done during this time? I call not your attention to the six or seven thousand colonists now on the coast of Africa. They are but a drop in the bucket. They amount not to the annual increase of the free colored population of this country. Those who have been put upon the coast of Africa are but as a drop of water to Lake Erie, with reference to the great cause to be accomplished. But I call the attention of this meeting to the establishment, during this interval, in all men's minds of one mighty truth, that the two races which now exist in this land, must ever exist here separate and distinct. We admitted this when we talked of the matter at the remote period to which I have referred. We admitted it without reference to the consequences; we did not carry out the argument to find where the prosecution of it would lead us. And while we looked at a closer union with the free

colored population of this country as impossible, we did not see what would be the effect of our reasoning upon the public mind. But since that period, the excitement at the North and the sensitiveness at the South has brought the conviction to most minds that the two races must forever remain separate. That being the truth, what follows? What does all history tell us? That two races, which live in the same land, and cannot amalgamate, cannot be united in marriage, can only exist in the relation of master and slave, oppressor and oppressed. The Spaniard and the Moor, the Anglo Saxon and the North American Indian, and the Norman and the Saxon, until they began to intermarry, are illustrations of the truth of the proposition, that two races which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, can only subsist in the same land in the relation of master and slave, or oppressor and oppressed. By oppressor and oppressed, I mean the relation which now subsist between the white man and the free black man in this country. Oppressed! What evidence is there of it? Is there a free colored man who can drive a hack or a dray in the city of New York. Has there never been a riot in the free State of Ohio? Many. Have there never been riots in Massachusetts? Yes. In Philadelphia? Yes. And who have been the victims of these riots? The free black man. And why does not this occur oftener than it does? It is because we have a mighty West, and that West creates a demand for labor which leaves room on the seaboard on all the avenues of employment for the white man and the black man to travel together, in pursuit of bread, without jostling each other. But the time will come, the time is coming,—and it has been referred to in one of the addresses which have been made this evening —when there will be but one loaf of bread, and two men to eat it.—Who will get it? Had Ireland in 1846 and 1847, been divided between two races that could not unite, which race would have starved. Can there be a doubt? The Providence of Almighty God has given to us the mighty West, so that there might be a drain for labor from the seaboard which would leave employment open to both white & black until the pressure of circumstances obliged the free colored man to leave our shores?

Colonization is as utterly incompetent to transport the whole colored population of the United States to Africa, as it would be impossible to ladle out one of our Northern lakes with a kitchen utensil. All that Congress can give will be insufficient for the purpose; all that the State governments can give will be insufficient; all that individuals can give will be insufficient for the purpose. Why then are we colonizationists if we cannot remove the free colored population by means such as I have referred to? To what then is Colonization competent? It is competent to the building up of colonies upon the coast of Africa, offering the same attraction to the colored man in this country that this country offers to the European. When that shall have been done—and it has been done to a remarkable degree already—when that shall be the result of the labors of the Colonizationists, we will see an emigration from America to Africa like that which now seeks our shores from Europe. (Applause.) That will be the result of Colonization; that will be its fruition. Colonization has performed wonders in doing what it has done. With its limited means, it has built up the Government that has been described.

It is holding out attractions which will ultimately lead to the home of their fathers, the race that is in the midst of us but which is not of us.

Mr. President, what is the entire increase of the free colored population of the United States? In 1827, in your speech, which was so many years afterwards a text upon the subject, you stated that the annual increase of the free colored population at that day was six thousand. It does not now exceed eight thousand annually. The entire annual increase of the colored population of the United States, slave and free, is less than 55,000 at this day. What is the immigration from Europe to America? There will cross the Atlantic this year half a million. What brings them to our shores? Colonization Societies at home; or means furnished by the Government of the countries from which they come? Not at all. They come to better their condition; they come with the means which they obtain from friends; they come with the means which they obtain with their own labor; they come from a class which is inferior in point of means, inferior in point of opportunities, to the class which is to leave our shores. There is nothing in the law to prevent an Irishman being Lord High Chancellor of England. There is nothing in the laws of this country which will enable the negro to be anything better than what one of their own color described in speaking of such a state of things as I have referred to, as "nothing better than a clever negro." Where the white man has one motive to leave Europe to come to this country, the black man has ten motives to leave this country. Is this lesson now making itself felt by this race? Aye: truly it is. Ten years ago there was not a stevedore upon Fells Point, Baltimore, that was not a black man. There is now not a stevedore there that is not a white man. Ten years ago, there was not a laborer in the coal yards in Baltimore that was not a black man; now there is not a black man in those yards. In the rural district, in which I reside in summer, ten years ago, I could not get a white man to work for me; now I cannot get a black man. What becomes of the black man? He is gradually being driven to the wall, and this pressure is increasing; and if it had not been for Colonization which provided for some of them a home in Africa which now invites them, the alternative would soon be presented to us of extirpation or emigration.

It is in the nature of things; it is the monition of history, common sense tells us, that this people, whose position among us has been made so prominent by the discussions which have rung through the land for the last few years, must go from our midst. We, gentlemen, of the Colonization Society, have opened the door for them.

Sir, the State of Maryland, which I have the honor to come from, appropriated $200,000, a large sum for a little State,—not to the general cause of Colonization, not to the American Colonization Society, but for the purpose of purchasing territory in Africa to which emigrants from Maryland might go when circumstances which were then maturing and which were beyond human control, should oblige them to leave the State: and Maryland—as her son, I speak it to her honor—when she could not pay the interest on her public debt, when she was in discredit, she never broke faith with the negro, but the $10,000 per annum were paid punctually when the day of payment came.

Sir, our fathers played with the fathers of the blacks. These blacks were the playmates of our infancy and the nurses of our childhood. All the kindest emotions of the human heart are associated with these black men and black women who were servants in our fathers' families. Who broke up these relations? Who made us jealous of each other? It becomes not me, in this place, where my purpose is to speak of Colonization, to refer to the causes which have made us enemies of each other. But although this state of things has been the result of that unfortunate excitement throughout the country, which has been so eloquently alluded to by the gentlemen who have preceded me, our duty to the African is none the less. We of Maryland believed we best performed that duty by establishing a colony at Cape Palmas.

What is to take the colored man to the colonies in Africa? Commerce. What brings the Irishman and the German to this country? Commerce. You have said, Mr. President, that those engaged in the African commerce conceal the extent and amount of it. They do, some of them. Those who will turn their attention to the subject will find that it increases with a rapidity that surpasses belief. A single house in Salem has twenty vessels engaged in that trade; and whole towns in England are supported by supplying the demand of the Africans for the fashions, for the African has as keen a taste for the fashion as many on this side of the Atlantic. While at the Colonization office the other day, I picked up a package of blue and white cotton goods and satin stripes—the latest samples for the spring fashions of the African market. (Laughter.) We send them tobacco from Maryland. What becomes of that tobacco. We exchange it with the English trader on the coast of Africa who brings us iron for it. We can give him tobacco on better terms than he can get it elsewhere, and we can get iron from him on better terms than elsewhere. There is a trade going on between British and American vessels on the coast of Africa of great value and of sufficient importance to justify the maintenance of a squadron, large or small, on that coast, irrespective of its uses for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The African is a man that is imitative; the first thing he wants is a piece of cotton cloth to cover his nakedness; and the next, seeing how comfortable they are, a pair of shoes, and there are enough feet in Africa wanting shoes, to keep the lapstones of New England ringing for the next century. (Laughter.) This commerce is growing up every day. With what astonishment was it heard that the Managers of the State Society of Maryland were putting up a light house at Cape Palmas; and money received from vessels passing that light house forms an important portion of the means to pay the civil list of that colony.

Sir, gentlemen are now talking of *ad valorem* duties and specific duties. There is a great difference of opinion upon the subject. Without meaning to take part or to commit myself at all upon a vexed question of domestic policy, permit me to state the experience of Africa on the subject. The colony at Cape Palmas wanted means to support itself. The colonists thought they had drawn long enough on the funds of the parent Society. A tariff was established for them on the *ad valorem* system. At first we had the foreign valuation and then the home valuation. We had a controversy

in the colony; and the Governor wrote home to us saying that if we continued to keep up the *ad valorem* system, there would not be a truthful man in the colony; but they would all be a set of perjured scoundrels. (Laughter.) That was the working of the measure there on a small scale. It was in a small community where government is watched more than in large ones. There was a great disturbance raised there in relation to the matter. What did we do to quiet the colonists? We put a duty of twelve and a half cents on a musket, a cent and a half a yard on a piece of cotton cloth, and turned all our *ad valorem* into specific duties; and there has been peace and quietness from that day to this. How the precedent set in Africa may be quoted in the halls of legislation and what authority it may receive, I do not pretend to say. I have merely given you the experience of Africa. Nor do I pretend to commit myself as to how that experience should be applied to our home policy.

We hear much talk about the balance of trade. I have read speeches in Congress in which gentlemen on one side would insist that Saye was right, and those on the other side would insist that Ricardo was right. One is ready to swear that the balance of trade was in favor of that nation whose exports exceeded its imports, another maintains exactly the reverse opinion. Africa had some experience on this point. When we established our Colony at Cape Palmas, it had no exports.—They soon complained of the want of a circulating medium. We then sent them out $500 in half dollars, quarters and shillings. A brig came along the coast a short time afterwards with a cargo which captivated the ladies and gentlemen there—silks, satins, feathers, London porter and the like. The result was, that the day after the brig arrived, there was not a bit of specie in the Colony. Hence it was necessary to resort to paper money. The difficulty was to make the paper money understood by the natives; for unless we got them to patronize it, it would be literally "no go," it would not pass. We put on a five cent piece a head of tobacco in a large wood cut, and told the natives it meant a head of tobacco. (Laughter). We put on the ten cent piece a chicken, and said it meant a chicken. We put on the twenty-five cent piece a duck, and the natives understood it to be a duck. We put on the fifty cent piece two ducks; and on the dollar note a goat. (Laughter.) That paper money to the amount of $1,500, was signed and countersigned, and looked quite as respectable as a great deal of the paper money circulating in this District. That money went to Africa, and answered the purpose for ten or twelve years, until it was found one day that paper money was not required, and that there was plenty of specie in the Colony. The reason was, that the Colony that year exported $20,000 worth of goods, and imported only $18,000 worth. The exports exceeded the imports, and the difference was paid for in specie. It was found that the balance of trade was in favor of the Colony, when its exports exceeded its imports.

This is commerce; it is commerce upon a small scale. This commerce is growing up among black men who left this Continent dirty, measly, and in rags. These are the men who understand these principles,

and apply them. These are the men who are growing up by the aid of a commerce which is increasing. At this time, there is a much greater commerce between the United States and Africa than there was between Europe and our colonies when they had lived the same number of years. Its increase year after year is very great.

The Hon. Mr. Stanton has brought forward his proposition for a line of steamers to Africa—the most important of that bridge of boats which should be built from America to Africa. There is already a bridge of boats upon which come day by day from Europe, thousands to make our canals and railroads, to fill our country, to add to its teeming population, and to add to our wealth and prosperity; aye to add to that pressure before which the free colored man must go or die. That is the action of the bridge of boats which now exists between Europe and America. We must build a like bridge of boats between America and Africa, and these steamers are part of it. Across that bridge of boats there will go, with a tramp from day to day, like an army with banners, a mighty crowd whose exodus will be more glorious than the exodus of Israel; a crowd at whose head there will be the banner of banners, the banner of the cross, behind which will follow all good things—until we shall have repaid the debt which our fathers incurred to Africa, until we shall see Africa redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled. (Applause). There will be at that day no doubt a prophetess, like Miriam of old, to sing—

"Sound loud the trumpet o'er mountain and sea,
Jehovah has triumphed—the people are free."

Mr. President, Colonization is to be accomplished by natural causes; it is not to be accomplished by the contributions of Governments, States, and individuals. The success of Colonization is to depend upon circumstances. Its success will be the result of the fact that two races which cannot amalgamate can exist in the same land only in the relation of oppressor and oppressed: How simply, how easy Colonization appears when viewed in this light. How totally unnecessary is it for us to make calculations as to the number of dollars and the number of vessels necessary to transport a given number of men. All that we have to do is to make Africa attractive. All we have to do is to place upon the shores of Africa crowds of rejoicing freemen who will cry "come to us; come and make your graves under the palm trees where your fathers rest; come and enjoy the good things of this world in freedom; leave your abject condition in America, and come to us in Africa." That will be the call which will realize the great results of Colonization. That voluntary, self-paying emigration will leave us a homogeneous population. That that time will come, I have no earthly doubt.

My most esteemed fellow-citizen, the learned and Rev. gentleman who has preceded me, has invoked the blessing of God upon this cause. That blessing is not merely problematical. We are not merely led to hope for the blessing. What could have produced the success that has crowned the labors of the Colonizationists, but his blessing? But for that blessing, Colonizationists could not have produced such results as the world now sees on the coast of Africa.

Time presses. I have already consumed more time than I intended upon an occasion when you, Mr.

President, addressed the meeting, and when eloquence, such as has preceded me, addressed it. This is an occasion where I would rather be a listener than a speaker. Thanking you, gentlemen, for your attention, I take my seat.

Speech of the Hon. F. P. Stanton.

The Hon. F. P. STANTON, member of the House of Representatives, from the State of Tennessee, was next called upon. He rose and said:

Mr. President: I do not know that it is at all necessary to call this audience together to-morrow night as has been suggested, for the purpose of listening to any thing I have to say; and I am sure the audience will not have the disposition now to listen to me at so late an hour; and I would by no means be inclined to impose upon them the necessity for such an endurance. [Cries of go on, from all parts of the house].

I had intended, Mr. President, to offer a proposition—to the discussion and elucidation of which I had designed to devote a few moments. If anything I may have been expected to say here has circumscribed the field of those gentlemen who have preceded me, I am sure it must be considered a misfortune by this audience as it is to me. I can say, as the gentleman who has just taken his seat has said, that I would much rather be a listener here than a speaker. I do not know that I shall have the opportunity to speak in the House of Representatives, as has been suggested by one gentleman; for you know, sir, that we are there hampered by rules, which may not afford me the opportunity of presenting and advocating the scheme to which you have done me the honor to refer in terms of some commendation; and not only by these rules, but by another rule which would have been somewhat inconvenient for the distinguished and eloquent gentleman himself; and I am very glad that upon this occasion he was not embarrassed by any such rule.

But, gentlemen, I feel that enough has been said; that it is unnecessary for me to add anything, or to attempt to add anything, to the general reflections upon the subject which have been so eloquently delivered here to-night. Therefore I shall abstain from trespassing on your patience any further. I will not withhold the proposition which I had intended to submit, as it is one which I presume would meet the unanimous concurrence of the audience, and would be well understood and appreciated, without any discussion from me. I present it without further remark. [Cries of go on].

Mr. President, what I had proposed to myself to speak upon to-night, was a resolution to this effect:

"That the harmony of the States
"of this Union would be promoted
"by the voluntary emigration of the
"free blacks, and that it would be
"sound policy on the part of the
"Government of the United States
"to adopt all efficient measures
"within the range of its acknow-
"ledged powers, for the encourage-
"ment of African Colonization."

I can give only a meagre sketch of the arguments I had intended to present in support of this resolution. But I think a few hints only will be necessary to sustain the first proposition contained in it—that the harmony of the States, the peace and

stability of the Union, would be promoted by the successful accomplishment of the great objects, which this Society has been endeavoring to carry out for the last thirty years.

The subject connects itself, to some extent, with the great questions of policy and of sectional interests which have agitated the country for some years past, and which have not yet ceased to operate injuriously upon our peace and prosperity. One of the most prominent causes of difficulty between the North and the South, has been, and is, the operation of that clause of the constitution which requires the surrender of fugitive slaves escaping into the free States. It is here that the most palpable conflict occurs in the opinions, feelings, and acts of the people of the two sections. It is here that the operation of the supreme law of the land comes into actual contact with the religious, moral and political prejudices of the people—in short it will be admitted that here is the sorest place in the whole body politic—the spot from whose inflammatory action, the irritation and fever of existing maladies are spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. I am far from saying this is the only cause of difficulty: but it is one of the greatest, acknowledged to be such, because it is upon this point that the South has been most successful in establishing a direct and indisputed infraction of her constitutional rights.

I do not intend to discuss any party questions—to touch any disputed points; much less to deal in denunciation of the opinions or conduct of any portion of the people of the United States. My purpose is simply to signalize one of the great evils under which our country is now laboring, to point out some of the most obvious causes of that evil, and to show, in what manner and to what extent, the great plan of Colonization offers a remedy for it.

I do not address myself to any man, North or South, who prefers amputation—separation—rather than a restoration of the general health. To all such men, I know well my views will be distasteful; but to every citizen who desires the return of peace to his distracted country—to every genuine friend of the Union, as it was in its commencement, and as it ought to be in the future, they will at least afford matter for serious reflection and examination.

Look at the vast number of free blacks in the United States! I have not been able to ascertain the number under the census of 1850; but I remember the estimate made in the celebrated Texas letter of the Hon. Robert J. Walker published in 1844. He estimated that according to the rate of increase from 1790 to 1840, there would be in the six States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois alone, no less than 400,000 free blacks in 1853; 800,000, in 1865; and 1,600,000 in 1890. The number of free blacks in the slave States is even greater than in the free States. Is this vast body of men, bound together by the ties of a common origin, a common color and a common condition, without influence upon the destinies of the American people? As there is no body in the physical universe of any appreciable magnitude, which does not exert an influence upon every other body in the universe, greater or less, in proportion to its less or greater distance, it must be palpable to the mind of every one that this great number of free blacks, increasing in so fearful a ratio, must exercise a powerful

moral influence for good or evil upon every interest in the country. Is that influence beneficial or deleterious? Can any one hesitate upon this point? I think you have been already convinced to night, that the unfortunate condition of this people is highly unfavorable to their own progress, and it must therefore be injurious to American Society and institutions. I go further. I maintain that this part of our population is a great element of discord and of danger—that it ought to be removed—must be removed from our borders, if the peace and harmony of our country are to be maintained.

It is not difficult to show how this discordant influence is exerted, in the existing condition of the North and the South. It is the existence of this vast number of free blacks, in the slave-holding as well as in the non-slave-holding States, with all the vices and evil inclinations resulting from their position, that constitutes the great example—the powerful incitement which renders the slaves of the Southern States unhappy and dissatisfied with their condition, inducing them, under the allurement of delusive hopes, to escape from their owners and to fly to evils which they know not of. So palpable is this influence, and so injurious is considered the presence and example of free negroes, that in many of the slave-holding States, emancipation is prohibited, except upon condition of the removal of the freed man beyond their limits. In some of the free States too, I observe, the policy of excluding the black man is seriously agitated—an agitation which would scarcely exist if it were not a conceded fact that the influence of this unfortunate class of people is evil there, as well as among the slaves themselves.

But it is not only in exciting the slave to escape and to seek a liberty for which he is not prepared, that the evil influence of this population is exerted. The free negroes in the border States, and indeed in all the free States, afford means of concealment to the fugitive slave which would not exist if the free blacks were fewer, or if there were none at all. If there were none at all, the fugitive would be easily distinguished and readily traced. As it is now, he is concealed, lost, and hurried away, undistinguished amidst the crowds of his own color, whose natural sympathies are enlisted to shield him from pursuit. I say natural sympathies; for I cannot condemn a feeling which springs from the strongest instinct, of human nature, however unfortunate may be its effects as a cause of irritation between the two sections.

It is this deep instinctive sympathy, also, which arrays in opposition to the execution of the laws, those excited crowds of black men, which have sometimes rescued the fugitive slave by open violence, trampling alike upon the rights of the owner and the laws and constitution of the land. I do not believe this would ever be done by white men alone. They may be drawn in by the excitement to assist the black man in rescuing his brother; but the excitement itself must first spring from that strong sympathy, which none can feel so deeply as men of the same race and color. Here then we have the origin and most powerful incentive of that spirit of resistance to the laws which has of late been so baneful to the peace and harmony of the States. Is not the remedy plain? And what is the prospect, if the remedy—the obvious remedy of Colonization—be not applied? Must not the evil go on still increasing? Will it not inevitably grow be-

yond the control of any authority in the Government? I must confess, I see no possible escape from the many terrible evils which I have attempted to describe, except by promoting the great and benevolent objects of this Society.

I repeat, that without this, the evil will continue to grow, and will strengthen in geometrical proportion to the increase of this population. The contact of the free negroes with the white people of the Northern States, tends to foster and keep alive the spirit of abolition.—Without the continual presence of a large portion of the black race, there would be little for this excitement to feed upon, and fanaticism, becoming merely theoretical, would be shorn of its greatest danger. The objects of false sympathy would be removed to a greater distance; the symbols and exemplars of a degraded race would be no longer before the eyes of misguided philanthropists, and blind passion might be expected eventually to give place to the dominion of truth and reason.

I refrain from pursuing the subject further. I will not look to that dark but not distant future, when in some of the largest of the free States, this population shall have grown powerful in numbers, demanding the elective franchise, and when perhaps political parties, in the phrensy of their excitement, shall bid for their influence and make them a power in the State.—They may hold the balance of power in these larger States, and through them in the Union. With all their capacity for mischief, through the mistaken sympathy they are calculated to inspire for the slave of the South, it is impossible to estimate the amount of discord and of injury they must inevitably produce among the States. I forbear, I say, to pursue these reflections. I merely glance at the considerations which sustain the position assumed, that the removal of the free blacks will promote the harmony of the States of the Union.

But it is said, the removal of this population from the Northern States will produce a vacuum which will be again filled up, by new accessions of run-away slaves. This cannot be the result. The tendency will be precisely the reverse. I have already shown, that the inducements to escape and the means of concealment will both be lessened, and the influence of emigration to Africa will be adverse to the movement which would carry the negro race from the South to the North. That movement, of itself, is unnatural, and cannot continue after you shall have taken away the attraction and the security afforded by the presence of a large number of blacks in their present place of refuge.—The hopes of the black man will be no longer fixed upon the Northern States; they will be turned, where they ought to be turned, to the shores of Africa, the native land of his fathers. Thus will a new sentiment be created and fostered in the minds of both the white and the black race—the sentiment, which will restore the black man who is fit for liberty, to a clime more congenial to his nature, and where the faculties with which God has endowed him, may be developed to their highest capacity. The beauty—the glory of this sentiment is, that it promises four-fold blessings—it promises repose and security to the slave-holding States; relief from a degraded and miserable population to the non-slaveholding States; elevation, improvement, and prosperity to the free blacks themselves; and finally, peace and stability to the Union.

I have heard one other objection

raised by Southern men against the plan of colonization. I have heard them say they were opposed to relieving the Northern States from the curse of this population, but they wished it to remain and increase, in order that those States might be punished for their hostility to Southern institutions. Even if this were a generous and patriotic sentiment, unfortunately the evil invoked would prove to be a double edged sword, and would re-act upon the South itself, with an injury even greater than that inflicted upon the North. This I have already shown. Causes of irritation would be multiplied, bitter hostilities would be engendered, slavery itself would be immediately threatened, and civil war might eventually draw its bloody curtain over the horrible drama. God save our country from such disasters!

But I hasten to consider, briefly, the other proposition contained in my resolution, and to endeavor to show that the Government of the United States has power to aid in the great objects proposed by this Society. If I have been at all successful in the line of argument already pursued, it follows inevitably, form these premises, that the policy proposed becomes a matter of self-preservation to the Government of the United States. If you deny the existence of this power, then you take from the Government that indispensable right without which no Government upon earth can maintain its existence—that right which is a law of the highest necessity to individuals, as well as to nations—the right of self-preservation. I do not mean the right to maintain itself in the exercise of unconstitutional authority: but I mean the right by all appropriate means to secure to itself the ability, under all circumstances, to fulfil its constitutional obligations and to perform its constitutional functions. If it be necessary to remove the free black population, in order that the Government may have the ability to maintain in full force the constitutional provision for the extradition of fugitive slaves, then the Government must have the power to accomplish that object. If it were necessary to overthrow a State for that purpose—in order to maintain the supremacy of the law and the Constitution, it would be the duty of the Government to do it.

If it has not been upon this ground—to maintain the rights and just powers of the States, and the free and unincumbered working of the constitutional functions of the Federal Government—that it has assumed and exercised the authority to remove various tribes of native Indians, then I cannot conceive upon what ground such authority has been maintained. I have been wholly unable to draw the distinction between the removal of the Indians, and the removal of the free black race. Nor am I aware that the power to do this has ever been seriously, certainly not successfully, questioned.

The Constitution of the United States confers upon the Government the power to suppress insurrection. I need not say that with the increase of this population—a distinct caste, so closely united by the profoundest sympathies—the greatest danger of insurrection to be apprehended in our country, will come either directly or indirectly from that quarter. Must the Government wait until the torch of civil war has been lighted? Must it wait until the gutters of our cities are filled with blood; when it may be too late to extinguish the conflagration, and when the footsteps of lawful power may be insecure upon

the streets, made slippery by the gore of the citizens?

There are also those great powers, which during the whole history of man, from his creation down to the present time, have been uppermost and greatest in all Governments—I mean the war powers. Hitherto, until a very recent period, these powers have been looked upon merely as instruments of destruction, or, at best, as instruments of attack and defence, by which the energies and resources of nations have been exhausted in bloody struggles. But in latter years, has occurred in the moral world a phenomenon, somewhat similar to that striking one which has been witnessed in the physical world. For long ages, that great element which exhibits itself in the jagged lightning, and speaks in its voice of thunder, was looked upon solely as the symbol of terror and the agent of destruction. But now the thunderbolt is tamed. It is conducted harmlessly to the ground; it is led along the telegraphic wire, and conveys instantaneous information for thousands of miles; it will be chained and harnessed to the car, and made a motive power for the use and benefit of man; it will be used to produce light and heat, and applied to a thousand useful purposes in the economy of life. So it has come to be, to some extent, with the thunderbolt of war. Hitherto its course has been marked by the mangled bodies of its myriad victims, and by the shattered institutions of vanquished nations. Every sea has been crimsoned with human blood, and a thousand rich argosies have gone down into the deep, before its desolating blast. But a great and beneficent change has commenced. The vast means necessary to employ and maintain armies and navies, have been hitherto scattered and wasted in prodigious exhibitions of national power, which bring little or no return of advantage. The transformation about to be effected is to change this mighty current into channels of commerce, to promote the friendly and profitable intercourse of nations. We have already established lines of steamers, fitted for war purposes, yet transporting the mail, and carrying our commerce to some of the most important points on the globe. These are the telegraphic lines of the ocean. We have one more to establish—one pole of which shall touch the shore of unhappy Africa, and pour into her sleeping bosom a flood of light, intelligence, civilization, commerce and Christianity, electrifying her, not into mere galvanic life, but to that "redemption," "regeneration," and "disenthrallment," for which you, Mr. President, and this Society, have been so long, so earnestly, and so faithfully laboring. (Applause.)

In regard to the proposition for the establishment of a line of steamers to Africa, introduced by myself into Congress, and to which you have done me the honor to refer, in terms of some commendation, I have only to say, that having become identified with that measure, and believing it to be one of great importance to the best interests of all sections of the country, I shall pursue it, with the best energies I possess, until my efforts shall be rewarded with success, or paralyzed by failure. (Applause.)

I take occasion to observe that my proposition does not involve any direct action on the part of the Government in the removal of the free blacks. It does not, therefore, go to the extent to which I have gone in my argument, and it might be still admissible, even if that argument

were inconclusive. The Government has already given aid to several lines of mail steamers, established to run between this country and other parts of the world. Those steamers may carry white or black men to Europe; and I have not yet heard questioned the power of the Government to give the aid which it has given, to these important lines of communication. Nothing more is asked for the African line. We do not propose to force the free blacks to go; and the arrangement proposed between the contractors and the Colonization Society, need not involve the Government to any extent, except to give thus indirectly its assistance to a great scheme for benevolent intercourse with Africa. It is quite as competent for the Government to employ for its own peculiar service, postal or naval, a vessel engaged in carrying emigrants to Africa, as one engaged in carrying bales of cotton or of merchandize, and passengers, to and from Europe. The principle is the same in both cases. But the African line promises to accomplish more than any other hitherto established. Independent of the advantages of colonization, both to the white and black races, this project will eventually save to the United States the vast expense of the African squadron, maintained for the suppression of the slave trade, and will open up to our people new fields for commercial enterprise.

In reference to the persons whose names are connected with this enterprize as the proposed contractors, they are no more to me than any other individuals. They have the intelligence, the capacity, and the enterprize to carry out the plan; and they have the further merit of having been the first to originate the important idea involved in the measure, and, as an inventor is entitled to the benefit of his invention, they are entitled to precedence, if their proposition be fair and reasonable, and not inferior in advantage to others subsequently made. Some rival schemes have been presented, not, in my judgment, superior in any respect to the one originally projected. This was anxiously considered, and I hope wisely matured, in the committee of which I had the honor to be a member. It ought not to be shorn of any of its proportions; and if it pass at all, I hope it will pass without any material alteration, to diminish its extent and efficiency.

From the considerations thus hastily sketched, I have been induced to present and to support the proposition for the African line of steamers. With your powerful support, Mr. President, which I am assured from what you have said to-night will not be withheld, and with some little favor from one in a still more distinguished position, *(turning to the President of the United States,)* whose influence may be expected to have much weight, I earnestly hope this important measure will soon be adopted—not as a measure exclusively for the benefit of the North, or of the South, but as one full of interest to all sections of the land, bearing "healing on its wings" to the Union of the States, and fraught with blessings to two hemispheres. (Applause.)

Remarks of the Hon. R. R. Reed.

It has fallen to me, Mr. President, as a delegate from Pennsylvania, to present a series of resolutions, which happily for me, and thrice happily for the audience, need not be enforced by a speech. I hand them

to your Secretary, and imagining you, sir, in that Chair, which in another place you so long honored and adorned, I put my bill on its passage, and call for the previous question.

The Resolutions were adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the Republic of Liberia, having assumed a place among the nations of the earth, and attained a power to give permanence and strength to her position, is entitled to be treated by older nations as a sovereign and independent Sate.

—That the Christian Republic on the western coast of Africa, was founded by the forecast and philanthropy of citizens of every section of these United States; and her people have just claims upon the United States as a nation, to sympathy in their hopes, and encouragement of their laudable efforts in the cause of universal civilization.

— That the American Colonization Society, respectfully submits to the Government of the United States, the expediency and sound policy of acknowledging by some public act, the Independence and National existence of the Republic of Liberia; and of establishing relations of amity and commerce with that nation.

Letters

From Gentlemen who had been invited to attend and address the Annual Meeting.

LETTER FROM JAMES W. ALEXANDER.

PRINCETON, N. J., *Jan.* 1, 1851.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: I have your polite invitation, of the 30th ult., to address the American Colonization at their approaching anniversary; and I look on the request as a most honorable distinction.

At the same time, I am constrained to repeat, what has been my uniform reply for ten years, that I have no gift for platform addresses, and that from necessity I have resigned this branch of public speaking to those who possess the enviable facility.

I regret this the more, because there is not an enterprise on earth, in behalf of which I could more sincerely or earnestly lift my voice; a service which I have tried to render, in the pulpit.

Convey my respectful acknowledgments to the Executive Committee, and accept for yourself the assurance, that I am truly yours,

JAMES W. ALEXANDER.

The Rev. W. McLAIN.

LETTER FROM THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

NEW BRUNSWICK, *Jan.* 1, 1851.

DEAR SIR: Your favor is just received. It would afford me great pleasure to attend the anniversary of the American Colonization Society, as you request. But I cannot leave the college at this season, so long—and besides, I am engaged to attend the New Jersey Colonization Society the evening before (the 20th), at Trenton.

Yours very respectfully,

T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

Mr. W. McLAIN, Cor. Sec.

LETTER FROM JOHN McDOWELL.

HOUSE OF REPS., *Jan.* 7, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been duly honored with your communication, inviting me on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society, to deliver an address before it at its annual meeting on the 21st of this month, and regret to say that it will be wholly out of my power to do so. I regret this the more as there is no Society amongst us whose objects I appreciate more highly, or consider more eminently entitled to the zealous and hearty support of every true lover of his country. Hoping that your annual meeting will be, in all respects, a prosperous and pleasant one, I am, sir, with many thanks to the Executive Committee for the honor of their consideration, their and your obedient servant,

JNO. McDOWELL.

LETTER FROM T. WAYLAND.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, *Jan.* 13, 1851.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

of January 8th, conveying to me an invitation to address the annual meeting of the Colonization Society on the 21st inst.

It would give me great pleasure to serve the Society in this or any other manner in my power; but to leave home at this time would be specially impossible. It is the closing week of our term, and I am obliged to be present.

I rejoice in the highly encouraging prospects of the Society. It has taken root on the shores of Africa, and it will, I trust, by the blessing of God, free the land. May God grant to you and all its officers the guidance of His infinite wisdom, that you may labor successfully for the millions of future generations.

I am, Rev. and dear sir, yours truly,

F. WAYLAND.

Rev. W. McLain, Cor. Sec.

P. S.—I regret that I am too late for the mail to-day.

APPENDIX.

Acknowledgment of the Independence of Liberia.

During the late meeting of the Board of Directors, a delegation from their number waited on the Secretary of State to urge the recognition of the independence of Liberia, by the United States Government. They were received by the Secretary in the most cordial manner. Mr. Webster expressed his gratification at their calling his attention to the important subject; said he was pleased that the Society had adopted the resolution in its favor, which the delegation handed to him, and assured them that the subject should receive his favorable consideration. At his suggestion the delegation called on the President, and met the same kind reception and cordial assurance of interest in the subject. The delegation were fully impressed with the belief that the Executive would soon take action on the subject.

Since that we have heard nothing further on the subject.

It is greatly to be regretted that the matter is so long delayed. The Secretary of State will find on file in his office numerous petitions, from all parts of the country, signed by citizens of the highest respectability, urging the recognition. Memorials have also been presented to Congress on the same subject. The relations between this country and Liberia are constantly assuming increased importance; and the sentiment is almost universal among our commercial men, that the Government ought to take a more practical and decided interest in the affairs of Liberia. The following article from the *New York Commercial Advertiser* presents the case in a fair light:

Recognition of Liberia.—It is tolerably evident that the present Administration will be applied to by the Republic of Liberia for a formal recognition of its independence by the Government of the United States, and for the mutual exchange of treaties of peace, friendship and commerce. Notwithstanding the repeated assurance of our Washington correspondent to the contrary, we incline to think the application will be favorably entertained by the present Administration, subject to a certain understanding on one point to which we shall presently refer. There is just ground for such expectation, beyond the fact that the deputation from the American Colonization Society were impressed, during their interviews with the President and Secretary of State, with the belief that those distinguished gentlemen were favorable to such recognition, provided it could be so managed as to be acceptable to the people and beneficial to the country. We are willing to attach all due importance to a *diplomatic proviso*, but still there remain two grounds of expectation—the fact that the deputation left with the liveliest confidence in the good intent of the President and Secretary, and our own conviction that whatever diplomatic caution it might be proper in them to employ, their good faith is not to be questioned.

Is the recognition of the Republic of Liberia desirable on the part of the United States? If so, is there any real impediment to such recognition?

Two of the greatest powers of the world have very cordially, and on the first solicitation, recognized that Republic and enter-

ed into liberal treaties with her. These are France and England. We regard her recognition by the latter as the more important of the two in its bearing upon the present question, for many reasons, some of which the reader will readily divine. Under all the circumstances of the case, joined with the somewhat impulsive and chivalrous character of the French nation, the example of France will probably operate less upon the utilitarian, reflective mind of America than that of Great Britain. One feels sure that, although there might be much of noble generosity in England's conduct toward Liberia, as there doubtless was, yet in entering into permanent treaty of friendship and commerce with her, the British Cabinet would look well to the profit and loss, to the national and commercial advantages and disadvantages of the contract. Experience has shown also, pretty much to the cost of the world, that British statesmen are shrewd and far-seeing in matters affecting the commerce or aggrandisement of that realm. England's recognition, then, of Liberia, accompanied by unusual tokens of good will, is a fact not to be overlooked in deciding upon our own course with reference to the same republic.

We cannot, at the present moment, lay our hands upon the Rev. Mr. Gurley's report of his visit to Liberia as the agent of this Government, charged with the prosecution of inquiries into the condition and resources of the new republic, or we might adduce statistics that would show that the transatlantic cabinet has evinced its usual sagacity in promptly entering into treaty with her, and giving her other evidences of good will. Confining ourselves to the general tenor of Mr. Gurley's report, we fearlessly assert that the entire cost of Western Africa and far into the interior, now rapidly becoming by lawful and honorable means the territory of the Republic, will become an exceedingly profitable and valuable market, the imports and exports of which for many, many years to come, are destined to increase with astonishing rapidity. It will be perfectly natural, and indeed will be demanded by good faith, that greater advantage will be afforded by the Liberian Government to those nations to whom she is allied by treaty, than to others; and the longer England and France are allowed to monopolize such treaties, the more firmly will they establish themselves in the advantages thus accruing to them.

Yet it would be natural for Liberia to prefer to be most closely allied to the United States, and it is perfectly well known that such a preference exists, and is avowed on the part of that Government. And if it can be shown, in addition to the moral claim which she undeniably has upon the the good will of this country, that the products of that climate are such as we want —that in the face of all competition they can be imported hither on advantageous terms—that to a fair extent she can take returns from the United States—and that her capacity in this respect is constantly upon the increase—if these things can be shown, or even their probability, then we think it will become expedient, if not imperative, that relations such as are likely to be asked for, be established between the two countries.

Let us glance, then, at the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing condition and prospects of Liberia, in order to form an estimate, somewhat imperfect though it must be, of the utility of establishing a treaty of commerce between the two republics. Its agricultural condition, brief as its history is, either as a colony or as an independent power, is not to be despised even now. Those who have visited the country speak in loud praise of the number, condition, and productiveness of its farms and plantations, brought into a high state of cultivation by the almost unaided energy of its people. If our memory serves us correctly, Mr. Gurley more than confirms all that has been said or written on the subject. It is a good feature. He that is faithful in little, will be faithful also in that which is greater; and if with such circumscribed means and limited advantages the Liberians have achieved so much, there can be little doubt, that with increased capital and other facilities, their agricultural labors will be prosecuted to greater extent and with augmented success.

With such aids as time and prosperity will supply, they will be enabled to prosecute the culture of cotton, rice, coffee and sugar-cane with great success. The soil and climate are said to be admirably adapted for the production of these. Indeed the coffee of Liberia is already in high repute. To these products may be added timber, the forests of which are vast and of varied kinds, such as mahogany, teak, ebony, lignumvitæ, rosewood, and many other valuable woods of commerce; spices of different varieties, and generally of superior quality, several fine oil-yielding nuts, &c., showing resources which only require population and commerce to convert them into wealth. From the native population of the interior are derived palm oil, ivory, tortoise-shell, and other articles. Already the exports of the Republic of

Liberia exceeds seven hundred thousand dollars annually, while its imports are about four hundred thousand. The Liberian Secretary of the Treasury informed Mr. Gurley officially that its trade was increasing at least fifty per cent. annually, and one-fifth of its entire trade is with the United States.

This is but the commencement of its commerce—the germ of a valuable trade, only just developing its powers of increase. Yet these facts form a strong argument, in a commercial point of view, for entering into treaty and establishing friendly relations with the young and promising Republic. Here is a market, too, for tobacco, beef, pork, salt fish, powder, muskets, salt, soap, crockery, manufactured cottons, and almost everything which this country can produce. What a field then would be opened for the commerce of these United States, already spreading so rapidly in all directions that such products as those of Western Africa must necessarily be taken into the catalogue of its articles of trade, since almost every market is open to its traffic.

So much for the commercial aspect of the question, is a treaty of mutual friendship and commerce with the Republic of Liberia desirable? But there is even a still more important aspect of the question. Liberia is to be colonized from the United States. Her population, mainly, for some time to come, must be derived from the United States; and whatever may be the popular sentiment respecting their living with us, when they voluntarily retire to their own soil, establish institutions similar to our own, demonstrate their capacity for self-government, and manifest other commendable and valuable qualities, and ask nothing more at the hands of this Government than that their nationality and independence shall be recognized, and commerce established with them on a secure and mutually advantageous basis, it does seem to us that their request ought to be promptly complied with. And further, until this is done colonization cannot accomplish its object on the scale which alone can make it seasonably available as the grand outlet for our free colored population. Of this we are well assured. Every year, every month almost, presses the necessity of more liberal colonization measures upon the attention of the people of this country, but these measures can never have their full development until the colored people here know that Liberia is by *this* Government recognized as independent—as a nation among nations. This is too obvious to need demonstration.

And now what real objection is there to the recognition of Liberia as an independent power? We know of only one that a candid mind can urge. There is no need to conceal the truth in the matter, for probably every white citizen more or less participates in the prejudice which constitutes the real difficulty. There is an unwillingness to admit a colored man to the station and intercourse belonging to the representative of an independent sovereign power at the seat of our Government. We should admit this as a substantial difficulty, because we know it to be the almost universal sentiment of the people, and their wishes ought to be consulted in the matter. But, as we understand the matter, the nature of the application on the part of Liberia—and this ought to operate largely in her favor, because it shows practical good sense as well as sincere good will—obviates entirely this only objection. She desires to avoid this difficulty, and proposes to confide her interests at Washington,—the conduct of all public affairs between the two Governments,—to one of our own citizens. If this be the fact, we apprehend that scarcely a dissenting voice would be raised against her full recognition as an independent Republic.

Sentiments of the Press.

[From the Union.]

Colonization Society.—The Annual Meeting of this Society took place last night in the First Presbyterian Church in this city. It continued from half-past seven o'clock till nearly eleven. The church was crowded with a profoundly attentive and orderly assembly. Mr. Clay, the President of the Society, was in the chair. He made a long, powerful, impressive, and eloquent address, in which he gave a history of colonization, traced its progress and advantages, and exhorted every friend of the country to render it a most efficient support. The Secretary then read a very interesting and cheering abstract of the proceedings of the Society during the last year. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore; Mr. Latrobe, of the same city; and Mr. Stanton, a member of Congress from Tennessee. Each of these gentlemen made strong, eloquent,

and exciting speeches. They presented resolutions which were unanimously adopted, and which will appear in the report of the proceedings. These speeches, too, will not be lost; for we observed the reporters very busy in taking notes of the whole debate.

One great truth was discussed and established as the foundation-stone of the Society, viz: That it was a law of physical and moral statistics, that two distinct races like the white and the black man could never long exist together in the same country, except in the relation of master and slave, oppressor and oppressed; and hence the indispensable importance of transporting the colored man to the coast of Africa. The great importance of sending the free people of color, with their own consent, was particularly explained; because their presence in the United States was only calculated to affect injuriously the white men, both of the North and the South, as well as the slaves of the South. Mr. Clay enlarged upon the ideas which he urged the other day in the Senate, showing that there was no other way of putting an end to the slave trade. He made many curious speculations, and stated some interesting facts, showing the the benefits of the commerce which would connect the United States and Liberia, particularly in the article of coffee. He also enlarged with great force on the proposition that slavery would terminate when, from the density of population, it was cheaper to employ a white laborer than to rear a slave.

Various plans were suggested for enlarging the operations and increasing efficiency of the Colonization Society. Several ingenious arguments were advanced in favor of employing steamers to economize and increase the transportation of the people of color from our own shores to those of Africa. Mr. Stanton, who has devoted so much attention to the establishment of a line of steamers, was unfortunately prevented by the lateness of the hour from explaining his views fully upon this as well as on other points.

The whole proceeding was conducted with so much order and ability as to make a deep impression upon an enlightened and attentive audience.

The President of the United States was present, and remained during the whole session, as well as a portion of his cabinet, and many members of Congress and strangers. The meeting was graced by many ladies.

The Colonization Society meets by itself to day at 12 o'clock, to organize its arangements for the present year.

[From the N. Y. Christian Intelligencer.]

The American Colonization Society, by general assent, held its most glorious Anniversary this week. It was the thirty-fourth; and Mr. Clay, the President, of course presided. Never was there a more crowded or respectable audience at any former Annual Meeting. The President of the United States, Mr. Fillmore, sat on the right of Mr. Clay; and among the audience were the Secretaries of the Navy and of the Interior, Mr. Bulwer, the British Minister, and many distinguished members of the United States Congress, strangers, ladies, &c.

I do not know any other cause that could have collected such an assemblage. Mr. Clay's remarks you have doubtless read. They were listened to with the most profound attention for an hour, except only when applauded, from the President down, by the whole immense audience. What a truly great and eloquent man! We need not go to old Greece or to Rome for a Demosthenes or Cicero, nor to England for a Chatham. Here stands on the American forum, an orator *sui generis*, and unparalleled for his own peculiar, beautiful, and popular eloquence, in ancient or modern days. Above all do I honor him for his ardent patriotism and philanthropy.

The great and philanthropic scheme of African Colonization is gaining ground daily. Some of the wisest and best in our land are its friends. Yesterday a large delegation from the African Colonization Society, by appointment, called upon President Fillmore and the Secretary of State, Mr. Webster. The object was to solicit the attention of the Government towards the Liberian Republic, and the recognition of her independence. These great officers of State received the delegates with marked attention, and professed a lively interest in the object of their call. They are decided friends of Colonization.

The plan too, before Congress, is a popular one at Washington, of establishing a line of mail steamers to the coast of Africa. It is a grand project, and if accomplished, will make a new and bright era in the history of colonizing that continent by Christian emigrants from this country. The system of frequent and rapid steam communication will of itself induce many more than ever to emigrate.

Sentiments of the Press.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1851.

A most glorious anniversary was that of the Colonization Society last night; the audience was immense, the church in which the meeting assembled being filled to overflowing. As President of the Society, Mr. Clay took the chair, Mr. FILLMORE, occupying the place on his right hand. Many distinguished gentlemen were in the audience, and among them Mr. Bulwer, the British Minister, the Secretary of War, the Russian Minister, with many Senators and Congressmen. You will read Mr. Clay's speech. All that I can say is—he seldom was more impressive or eloquent. So every body admits—judge for yourself, however.

By general consent this was the most encouraging Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, ever held. Say what you will, I go for this noble scheme. It has this great and good feature. Whilst other professed friends of the colored man are constantly squabbling about them and their rights, this plan alone takes him up from his degradation, and makes a real man of him. Were I a Colonizationist on no other ground, I am sure I should be on this. Does any one oppose colonization, I have no argument with him. I point to the Liberia Republic—an argument seen and known by all men. There she stands, the beacon of love, hope, and mercy, to two continents of our world? Where is there such another bright spot on the map of the world?

The Society was never before in so prosperous a condition. It can contemplate with proud satisfaction the result of its labors in the establishment of a free and enlightened republic on the western coast of Africa. What new triumphs it may be the destiny of the Society to accomplish cannot be foreseen; but there is every reason to believe that its mission is to arrest the slave-trade, to civilize and Christianize Africa, and to be the means of relieving this country from the free colored population and finally from the institution of African slavery.

The application of steam to ocean navigation seems to have furnished the means, and at the right time, for the completion of all these great designs. The establishment of a steam packet line to Africa for the purpose of the promotion of commerce with that continent, and for the deportation of colonists to it, is the obvious policy of the Colonization Society, and is entitled to the immediate encouragement of the national government. Mr. Clay enlarged upon the necessity of promoting steam navigation with Africa in his address last night.

[From the Republic.]

COLONIZATION.—The eloquent speech of Mr. CLAY at the recent meeting of the American Colonization Society, of which we published a full account in our paper of Thursday, presents many subjects for gratifying reflection, and is in all respects worthy the attentive consideration of every person who has at heart the improvement of the African race and the welfare of the country. It is now some thirty-four years since the great scheme of Colonization was first projected. From the beginning it has met with nothing but discouragements from those who have been loudest in their professions of friendship towards the race for whose benefit it was mainly designed. Not content with a mere negative opposition, the Abolitionists have lost no opportunity to misrepresent and denounce it, and throw obstacles in its way. They have done their best to prejudice the public mind against the movement, and to dissuade the free blacks from availing themselves of the advantages which it has offered to them. And yet, in the face of all this opposition, the Colonization Society has, with wonderful perseverance and success, gone right onward with its work. The results which it has accomplished are so well known that it is hardly necessary to recapitulate them. It has established an independent and flourishing republic—a land of schools and churches and dwellings of civilized men—in a place which would otherwise have remained to this day the home of savages and wild beasts. It has opened an asylum, and the only asylum on the face of the earth where the negro can enjoy the blessings of true liberty, and stand up erect in the full stature of his manhood. It has done more than any thing else towards the diminution of the slave trade, and has pointed out to us the only effectual instrument for its entire suppression. In view of these beneficent results, we may well say, in the words of Mr. CLAY, that "if there ever was a scheme presented to the consideration and acceptance of men, which in all its parts presents nothing but commendation, it is the scheme of African colonization."

MEMORIALS IN FAVOR OF STEAMSHIPS TO AFRICA.

Memorial of the Ohio State Convention.

In the United States Senate.

The CHAIR laid before the Senate a communication from the War Department, enclosing a statement of the surveys made upon the best mode of supplying Washington city with pure water, accompanied with a plan and estimate of the cost of the work. Referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

LINE OF STEAMSHIPS FOR AFRICA.

Mr. EWING presented the following memorial, signed by two-thirds of the members of the State Constitutional Convention now in session in Ohio:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of United States:

The undersigned, members of the Ohio Constitutional Convention, take the liberty, respectfully, but earnestly, of calling your attention to the condition and prospects of the republic of Liberia, and to the growing importance of its commerce and the beneficent effects which it has already produced, and the favorable influence it must continue to exercise, in the great work of African civilization.

The colony of Liberia, you are aware, was planted by the charity of American citizens, without distinction of party, political or sectional. The enterprise was commenced, fostered, and protected by the warm hearts and enlightened minds of American men and women, north and south of the Potomac, who united on the broad and solid basis of American philanthropy, to elevate morally and intellectually the free colored people of the United States, and confer on them the blessings of civil and religious liberty. That colony now happily constitutes a prosperous, moral, and well-governed independent republic. Its growing commercial importance is attracting the attention of the great commercial nations of Europe, who are according to it their acknowledgment of its independence, and securing to themselves by treaty the advantages which its commerce will afford. Your petitioners are of opinion that the establishment of a line of steamers between the United States and Liberia, on the plan submitted to your consideration during the last session of Congress, would greaty promote the interests of the republic of Liberia, rapidly advance the commerce of this country with Africa, hasten the destruction of the slave trade, and by affording greater facilities to emigration in the greater cheapness and rapidity with which it could be conducted, give an impulse to colonization that it would tell most favorable upon the interests of both continents.

We would, therefore, urge upon your consideration, as one of great national importance, the sheme of a line of steamers between our country and Africa, and we do so with the hope that you will not permit your present session to close without having enacted a law for its accomplishment.

William Sawyer,	James Loudon,
Jacob J. Greene,	Thomas Patterson,
John H. Blair,	B. P. Smith,
Jos. M. Farr,	Thomas A. Way,
Jno. J. Hootman,	John Lidey,
D. P. Leadbetter,	Wm. Kennon,
Harmon Stidger,	J. P. Henderson,
Edward Archbold,	L. Chase,
John Larwell,	John Johnson,
Sam'l Quigley,	E. Wilson,
J. Thompson,	H. Thomson,
D. D. T. Hard,	J. Ewing,
R. W. Cahill,	Chales McCloud,
John E. Hunt,	C. S. Hamilton,
Robert Forbes,	George J. Smith,
W. S. Groesbeck,	Otway Curry,
John Chaney,	Jacob Perkins,
George Collings,	David Barnett,
Samson Mason,	Isaiah Morris,
Jacob Bleckensderfer,	Dadid Chambers,
Van. Brown,	Daniel Peck,
A. J. Burnett,	Simon Nash,
Josiah Scott,	A. Harlan,
Samuel Morehead,	Jno. S. Greene,
Thos. J. Larsh,	Adam N. Riddle,
B. Stanton,	J. Dan. Jones
Thos. W. Ewarts,	E. C. Roll,
Jno. A. Smith,	G. W. Holms,
John Graham,	W. S. Bates,
H. N. Gillet,	V. B. Horton,
William Barbee,	Richard Stilwell,
S. J. Andrews,	Henry Stanberry,
Joseph Barnett,	Elias Florence,
A. G. Brown,	James Arnold
Jas. J. Worthington,	PeterHitchcock,
James Steerlile,	

CINCINNATI, January 13, 1851.

Memorial of the Maryland Reform Convention.

In United States Senate.

Mr. PEARCE presented the following memorial, signed by the members of the State Constitutional Convention of Mary-

land, praying for the establishment of a line of steamers from the United States to Africa:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned, members of the Convention assembled at Annapolis to revise the Constitution of the State of Maryland, beg leave respectfully to call the attention of Congress to the proposition recently submitted to their consideration for the establishment of a line of steamers from the United States to the republic of Liberia. Whatever merit the plan proposed may possess as a means of carrying the mails and extending the commerce of this country, the undersigned value it chiefly on account of the facilities it will afford in removing to the continent of Africa the free blacks of the United States, in which respect they regard it as promising better results than any other scheme ever offered to the consideration of the American public, and therefore eminently worthy the fostering care of the Government and people of the United States.

From the first promulgation of the great and philanthropic enterprise of African colonization, the people of Maryland have regarded it with peculiar favor. Her most eminent citizens have taken a leading and zealous part in the promotion of its objects; and the State herself, many years ago, through her General Assembly, appropriated the sum of ten thousand dollars per annum, for a series of years, in aid of the means of her State Colonization Society, the payment of which throughout the period of her greatest financial embarrassment never has been interrupted.

The undersigned, therefore, respectfully, but most earnestly, pray Congress to appropriate from the national treasury whatever sum may be necessary to carry into full effect a plan of colonization which interferes with no party or sectional views, offends no prejudices, and which, as they well believe, will in an especial manner prove acceptable to the great body of the American people.

Jno. J. Dashiel,	J. G. Chapman,
Jacob Shower,	W. Cost Johnson,
S P. Smith,	Thos. F. Bowie,
W. Weber,	C. J. M. Gwinn,
Jno. Slicer,	George C. Morgan,
J. M. Kilgour,	W. J. Blackston,
Elias Ware, jr.,	Jno. F. Dent,
James Fitzpatrick,	James R. Hopewell,
E. F. Chambers,	George Schley,
John Lee,	Lewis P. Frey,
Thomas Donaldson,	John Newcomb,
Samuel Sprigg,	Thomas Hardine,
J. M. S. Maccubbin,	Michael Newcomer,
Daniel S. Biser,	John Brewer,
James B. Ricaud,	Alexander Neill, jr.,
John D. Gathier,	John S. Sellman,
S. P. Dickinson,	Francis P. Phelps,
Robert Annan,	W. F. Goldsborough,
Elias Brown,	Thomas H. Hicks,
Jas. M. Buchanan,	John H. Hodson,
H. J. Chandler,	Wm. Williams,
Edward L. Shriver,	J. W. Crisfield,
James L. Ridgeley,	James W. Dennis,
Thomas J. Welshe,	John Dennis,
W. Waters,	G. Wells,
M. G. Cockey,	Thomas B. Dorsey,
Samuel M. Magraw,	T. R. Stewart,
S. S. McMaster,	John Rowley,
James M. Hooks,	G. W. Hardcastle,
L. L. Derickson,	Curtis W. Jacobs,
Ebenezer Hearne,	James Nelson,
James Kent,	J. Sapington,
E. George,	W. B. Stephenson,
Henry C. Wright,	D. Jenifer,
Louis M'Lane,	James T. Mitchell,
David Stewart,	Benj. C. Presstman,
Wm. A. Spence,	Robert J. Brent,
W. H. Tuck,	Wm. Grayson.

[*Republic of 5th Feb.* 1851.

Memorial of the Legislature of Virginia.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the *members of the General Assembly of Virginia*, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies, that they have adopted this method to express their warmest approbation of the principle of the measure now before Congress to establish a line of steamers to the western coast of Africa.

The passage of such a bill, with such modifications as the wisdom of Congress may devise, will, in their opinion, eminently encourage the emigration of the free colored population from this country to Liberia—will, also, greatly increase our steam Navy, and thus obviate the necessity of maintaining, at great expense to our Government, and risk of the health and lives of our officers and seamen, a squadron upon the coast, in itself inefficient in the suppression of the slave trade; and will rapidly extend the mail service

and commerce of the United States. These are all objects, by universal consent, greatly to be desired, especially in a *national point of view*.

Situated as Virginia is, with a free colored population of 53,757, the presence of which is injurious to the moral habits of her slaves, and the removal of which from her limits, has been, for many years, an important object of her domestic legislation—a legislation which, though liberal in its spirit, has been defeated in its objects by the expense of transportation to Africa—an expense too onerous for a single state to sustain. Nor can her citizens fail to feel an interest in every plan that will increase and extend the rapidly growing commerce of the United States.

This plan, we are also satisfied will introduce into Africa a legitimate, peaceful, and valuable commerce, in the place of the infamous slave trade, and will eventually lead to the civilization of that immense, distant, and benighted country.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

G. W. Hopkins, Sp. House Delegates.
William H. Dennis, Speaker Senate.
R. E. Scott,
John F. Wall,
J. J. Bocock,
E. W. Massey,
H. W. Thomas,
F. B. Welton,
Chartain White,
William H. French,
John D. Inaboden,
Baxter R. Nelson,
Isaac C. Carrington,
John W. Speed,
James B. Dorman,
S. Patrick,
W. C. Scott,
W. W. Forbes
James Segar,
A. Patterson,
S. Wheeler,
E. A. Williams
William L. Jackson,
P. Guerrant,
William M. Burwell,
Robert Crane,
R. F. Harvey,
William Kenney,
Thomas H. Daniel,
Evermont Ward,
Thomas M. Tate,
James G. West,
Charles Carter,
George J. Yerby,
E. A. Goodwyn,
Peter F. Boisseau,
Wm. J. Thompson,
J. Homer,
John C. Crump,
Louis C. H. Finney,
Andrew Danison,
E. D. Kernan,
Daniel Tompkins,
H. B. Gomlin,
J. W. Edwards,
Hiram Martz,
Théodorick Morris,
James G. West,
S. J. Stuart,
Wm. M. Hume,
M. S. Granthorn,
Wm. D. Massey,
Thomas Burwell,
Talbot S. Duke,
J. B. Stovall,
H. L. Opie,
Thomas M. Isbell,
Mat. Edmonston,
Richard M. Snyder,
William L. Jackson,
James H. Ferguson,
Joseph K. Pendleton,
R. N. Hall,
R. L. Wright,
C. J. Beirul,
A. H. McClintie,
James S. Garrison,
L. P. August,
John M. Jewell,
J. W. Horner,
Philip Pitman,
Charle W. Russel,
B. Clark,
H. Shackelford,
G. S. Barbee,
Douglas B. Layne,
Crawford Turner,
Austin M. Trible,
Thomas J. Boyd,
George Cowan,
Alex Monroe,
V. Witcher,
J. W. M. Wither,
B. A. Lewis,
William B. Power,
E. C. Carrington, jr.,
M. H. Johnson,
P. A. Bolling,
L. Vanroisdale,
R. Dunlap,
Morris D. Norman,
J. Marshal McCue,
R. J. Woods,
John Carrol,
H Deckins,
John S. Calvert,
Wm. J. Robertson.
John B. Floyd, Governor of Va.

Memorial of the Virginia Reform Convention.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the *members of the Virginia Reform Convention*, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies that they have adopted this method to express their warmest approbation of the principle of the measure now before Congress, to establish a line of steamers to the western coast of Africa.

The passage of such a bill, with such modifications as the wisdom of Congress may devise, will, in their opinion, eminently encourage the emigration of the free colored population from this country to Liberia—will also greatly increase our steam Navy, and thus obviate the necessity of maintaining, at great expense to our Government, and risk of the health and lives of our officers and seamen, a squadron upon the coast, in itself inefficient in the suppression of the slave trade, and will rapidly extend the mail service and commerce of the United States. These are all objects, by universal consent, greatly to be desired, especially in a *national point of view*.

Situated as Virginia is, with a free colored population of 53,757, the presence of which is injurious to the morals of her slaves, and the removal of which from her limits, has been, for many years, an important object of her legislation—a legislation which, though liberal in its spirit, has been defeated in its objects by the expense of transportation to Africa—an expense too onerous for a single State to sus-

tain. Nor can her citizens fail to feel an interest in every plan that will increase and extend the rapidly-growing commerce of the United States.

This plan, we are also satisfied, will introduce into Africa a legitimate, peaceful, and valuable commerce, in the place of the infamous slave trade, and will eventually lead to the civilization of that immense, distant, and benighted continent.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

John Janney, William Tayman,
Benjamin H. Smith, James E. Stewart,
Samuel Chilton, Benjamin F. Wegira,
William Watts, Wm. G. Brown,
J. F. Strother, Charles J. Faulkner,
Samuel Price, George E. Deneale,
William Kenney, Andrew Hunter,
Aug. A. Chapman, Sam'l L. Straughan,
A. S. Pendleton, Ira Williams,
W. L. Edwards, James Nelson,
A. Stephenson, jr., Joseph Smith,
Littleberry N. Ligon, Wm. I. Willey,
Robert L. F. White, V. W. Southall,
Corbin Braston, Robert C. Howard,
John E. Shell, Giles Cook,
Samuel Watts, F. M. Galley,
Edgar Snowden, Z. Jacob,
Jno. Knote, John Kinney,
E. J. Armstrong, J. T. Marten,
John A. Carter, Jno. Liomberger,
R. S. Tumbril, Wm. M. Tredway,
D. Murphy, Robert G. Scott,
B. J. Worsham, Tazewell Taylor,
Ed. R. Chambers, Hugh W. Miffey,
John Jones, R. L. J. Beale,
James Saunders, Charles Blue,
John Hill, Arthur R. Smith,
G. D. Condon, D. E. Moon,
Joseph Fuguo, Robert A. Banks,
G. W. Weighfield, Wm. Martin,
Th. H. Flood, Minen Garnett,
Jno. M. Botts, Connolly F. Trigg,
Richard E. Cocke, John A. Meredith,
D. Carter, John Letcher,
R. E. Scott, Sam'l M. Garland,
J. F. Snodgrass, Wm. Lucas,
James Smith, Arch. Stuart,
Sam'l McCommant, Beverly B. Douglas,
James M. Whittle, E. W. McComas,
O. S. Van Winkle, Th. P. Bland,
R. C. L. Moncure, N. C. Claiborne,
Sam'l S. Hays, Thos. M. Tate,
A. M. Newman.

Memorial of the N. Y. Col. Society.

In United States Senate.

Mr. DICKINSON presented the following memorial of the officers and managers of the New York State Colonization Society:

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the officers and managers of the New York State Colonization Society, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies that they have been, for more than twenty years, associated together and engaged in promoting the great scheme of African colonization.

They have adopted this method to express their warmest approbation of the principle of the measure now before Congress to establish a line of mail steamers to the western coast of Africa.

The passage of such a bill, with such modifications as the wisdom of Congress may devise, will, in their opinion, eminently encourage the emigration of the free people of color from this country to Liberia—will also greatly increase our steam navy, and rapidly extend the mail service and commerce of the United States. These are all objects, by universal consent, greatly to be desired, especially in a national point of view.

Situated as New York now is—the commercial metropolis of the western world—her citizens cannot but feel an interest in every plan that will increase and extend the rapidly growing commerce of the United States. England alone carries on a trade with Africa which amounts to no less than five millions sterling, or about twenty-five million dollars per annum. Is it not desirable that our country should, if practicable, participate in this immense and enriching traffic more than she has heretofore? Africa is estimated to contain one hundred and sixty millions of people, and we cannot but indulge the belief that an immense and profitable commerce will be opened by the proposed steamers with these vast and undeveloped regions.

Still it is chiefly to advance the great patriotic and beneficent objects of removing the free people of color from our land, and of abolishing the slave trade, that the New York Colonization Society unanimously and heartily recommend the adoption of the proposed measure.

We are satisfied that the establishment of such steamers by the United States Government will be the most powerful aid ever yet given to the cause of colonization, and secure the emigration of great numbers to Liberia.

This plan, we are also satisfied, will introduce into Africa a legitimate, peaceful, and valuable commerce, in the place of the infamous slave trade, and will eventually lead to the civilization of that immense, distant, and benighted continent.

All of which is respectfully submitted,
AMON G. PHELPS, President.
J. B. PINNEY, Cor. Secretary.
NEW YORK, January 3, 1851.

Memorial of the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

The undersigned, members of tne Legislature of Pennsylvania, take this method of making known to Congress their views in regard to the proposition now before it, for the establishment of a line of steamers to the western coast of Africa. They feel that they cannot too earnestly urge upon Congress the adoption of the plan so ably recommended at the last session by the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives. The cheap and easy settlement of the coast of Africa, which it proposes, is the only way to put an end to the slave trade, and a check to further Africanizing of the American continent. The free people of color in the United States will be attracted by its rapid and extensive facilities to go in large numbers to the land of their fathers.

Our squadrons on the coasts of Africa and Brazil, attended with so large an expense, can be withdrawn, while all the objects ineffectually sought to be obtained by them, at the sacrifice too of many valuable lives, will be reached with certainty and safety, and with far less cost.

The emigration being under the control of the American Colonization Society, the nation will have every guarantee of its being judiciously managed:

John S. Rhey,	John McLean,
Thomas McKee,	Andrew Hague,
R. Laughlin,	Abraham Olwine,
S. Roberts,	Oliver J. Fritz,
David Riddle,	James C. Downer,
Joseph E. Griffin,	Smith Skinner,
John Ross,	Isaac Ruckhorn,
Wm. H. Blair,	William Dunn,
A. McKean,	William J. Dobbins,
J. C. Evans,	Edwin C. Prone,
R. Simpson,	Caberly Freeman,
Wm. Hervey,	James W. Rhoads,
N. Shull,	D. Sturan,
J. D. Leit,	Joseph Guffey,
Jacob Reesnyder,	Jno. C. Kunkel,
Saml. Fegely,	H. E. Brown,
J. Patton,	W. Robertson,
G. W. Scofield,	Wm. F. Packer,
John W. Shugert,	Jno. Hays,
S. S. Benedict,	Henry Fulton,
Lewis C. Cassidy,	Thos. H. Fernyth,
Wm. Goodwin,	Timothy Ins,
John D. Morris,	Isaac Hughes,
E. Mooney, jr.,	Thomas S. Fernon,
S. Bochman,	H. A. Muhlenberg,
J. W. Killneger,	Jos. Baily,
S. J. Bigham,	R. M. Frick,
James Fiffe,	Charles Frailey,
John McCluskey,	J. J. Cunningham,
James Cowden,	Daniel Stine,
Robert Baldwin,	James Carothers,
Saml. Hamilton,	David Maclay,
Wm. Evans,	James C. Reid,
John S. Struthers,	A. H. Blaine,
Edward Armstrong,	Joseph Brown,
J. S. Goslee,	Wm. Haslett,
Bartram A. Shæffer,	Benj. Malone,
Robt. C. Walker,	Benj. Matthews,
Seth R. McCune,	Jos. Renymacher,
W. B. Smith,	Jno. H. Walker,
John W. Glenruvy,	Thos. Carson,
C. R. Buckalad,	George Sanderson,
Wm. McSherry,	C. Myers,
H. Jones Brooke.	

Commerce of Africa.

We are indebted to the editor of the New York Colonization Journal for the following article on the commerce of Africa:

We have with much care prepared, from all the sources immediately accessible to us, *tables* exhibiting the value of this commerce.

TABLE I,

The materials for which, wholly recast, were taken from the Report made by Hon. Mr. Kennedy to Congress in 1842, exhibits, *first*, the various African products imported into England, in their total and average yearly values, for fifteen years, from 1827 to 1841: *second*, the exports of Domestic and Foreign Goods from England to western Africa, giving the totals and the average for each year, of every article, as also the totals and average for each year, of all articles: *finally*, the proportion of the exports distributed

to five divisions of the coast of west Africa.

The reader's attention will be at once arrested by the discrepancy in the values exported and imported. The imports, so far from exceeding, as they would, if the profits were added to original cost and returned in produce, do not amount to one half the exports!

This may be accounted for on several suppositions. The *large expenditures* of Government for the military and civil list in its African colonies, for which payment is made by bills on England; the *gold dust* and bullion not included in the table of imports, but which annually amounts to a very large sum; the goods *consumed at slave-factories*, which are usually paid for by bills of exchange, may each or any of them singly, and will certainly collectively, furnish an explanation.

It will also attract the attention of American readers, that the three most valuable articles of export are *cotton goods*, *tobacco*, and *ardent spirits*, *all* originating in our own country. We say *all*, meaning principally; for the India cottons, we presume, are made of the good American cotton and poor India cotton mixed; the tobacco is from Virginia and Kentucky, and we fear that even some of the ardent spirits originates in America.

TABLE II.

This table, prepared from McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, presents the export and import to a period three years later than the first, with an additional view of the whole British trade with all parts of Africa, including the north and east as well as west and south.

TABLE III,

Prepared from a portion of Rev. R. R. Gurley's Report to the Secretary of State, exhibits the amount of our own commerce with western Africa, in exports and imports, for six years, closing with 1849, in the total and average yearly values of each article.

The same discrepancy between the values exported and imported appears here as it did in the British trade. But, unfortunately, charity cannot find so probable and innocent an explanation.

In this table the bullion or gold is reported; we have the exact values given. There are no adequate causes of consumption in military forces or missions, and we are, however reluctantly, compelled to suppose the difference and all the profits comes back in bills, and these drawn chiefly by *slave traders*. However humiliating this conclusion, we do not see how it is to be avoided.

Another and more pleasing remark to be made from these *tables* is, that Africa is not only a large and increasing market, but has a vast variety of the most valuable productions to render commerce profitable. Gold, ivory, drugs, dyes, timbers, gums—these are but samples of that unlimited capacity in Africa, now latent, hereafter to be developed and enrich the world.

The disparity in value of the English and American commerce with Africa will also be observed. While the principal material of trade originates with us, our great rival secures the lion's share, and monopolizes three-fourths of it. That the existence of her colonies gives Great Britain an advantage cannot be doubted, and so far the disparity implies no want of care on the part of our Government, or of enterprise among our merchants. But surely we may deduce, from these facts before us, that it behooves the United States to look after so valuable a trade, and not needlessly give England a still greater advantage by throwing away the sympathies of the only settlement of American origin existing on this coast. We all know with what avidity England seized the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the independence of Liberia; we all know, too, that the want of protection from our Government, and the consequent annoyance by England, compelled the Liberian settlers to precipitate a separation from us. Knowing this we cannot but regret that no commercial treaty has yet been formed to save the colonists from estrangement from us, and render them less tributary to the commerce of Great Britain.

To conclude, we desire to call the attention of our business men to the capacities of Africa as a field of enterprise inviting them.

We ask our own Legislature to aid and encourage the extension of Liberia, by facilitating the emigration of all who seek a passage there. We express an earnest hope that this session of Congress will not be closed without the passage of a commercial treaty with the Republic of Liberia.

Commerce of Africa.

TABLE I.

Imports from the Western Coast of Africa to England, from 1827 *to* 1841 *inclusive.*

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Barwood	14,591 tons.	973 tons.	$291,820	$19,454
Camwood	11,353 tons.	757 tons.	683,180	45,545
Coffee	1,006,856 lbs.	67,123 lbs.	110,754	7,383
Ebony	749 tons.	50 tons.	26,215	1,783
Ginger	4,465 cwt.	298 cwt.	31,255	2.083
Grains, Guinea, and of Paradise	517,665 lbs.	34,511 lbs.	64,708	4,313
Gum animi, and copal	4,189 cwt.	279 cwt.	108,914	7,261
Gum Senegal	170,712 cwt.	11,381 cwt.	3,414,240	227,606
Hides, untanned	42,992 cwt.	2,866 cwt.	505,904	33,707
Oil, palm	305,951 cwt.	20,396 cwt.	1,835,706	122,380
Pepper	500,505 lbs.	33,367 lbs.	50,050	3,337
Red or Guinea wood	1,415 tons.	94 tons.	49,525	3,301
Rice not in the husk	13,447 cwt.	896 cwt.	67,235	4,480
Rice in the husk	48,909 bush.	3,260 bush.	73,363	4,891
Teeth, elephants' and sea-horse	32,285 cwt.	2,152 cwt.	3,874,200	258,280
Teak wood	24,244 loads.	1,616 loads.	1,212,200	80,813
Bees' wax	67,410 cwt.	4,494 cwt.	2,022,300	134,820
			$14,421,569	$961,437

British and Irish Goods exported from England to the West Coast of Africa, from 1827 *to* 1841 *inclusive.*

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Apparel, slops, and haberdashery	— — —	— — —	$633,200	$42,213
Arms and ammunition	— — —	— — —	6,690,000	446,000
Beef and pork	2,603 bbls.	173 bbls.	43,768	2,918
Beer and ale	9,528 bbls.	635 bbls.	138,921	9,261
Brass and copper manufactures	22,692 cwt.	1,512 cwt.	621,925	41,461
Butter and cheese	3,992 cwt.	266 cwt.	79,163	5,278
Cabinet and upholstery wares	— — —	— — —	68,378	4,558
Cotton manufactures entered by the yrd	75,197,670 yards.	5,013,178 yards.	9,781,259	652,084
Cotton hosiery and small wares	— — —	— — —	46,749	3,116
Earthenware of all sorts	5,837,089 picces.	389,139 pieces.	297,452	19,830
Glass of all sorts	— — —	— — —	204,430	13,629
Hardware and cutlery	40,877 cwt.	2,725 cwt.	724,729	48,315
Hats of all sorts	12,700 doz.	846 doz.	95,048	6,337
Iron and steel, wrought and unwrought	22,489 tons.	1,499 tons.	1,058,342	70,556
Lead and shot	1,008 tons.	67 tons.	89,145	5,943
Leather and saddlery	— — —	— — —	129,366	8,624
Linen manufactures entered by the yard	921,659 yards.	61,443 yards.	180,066	12,004
Linen thread, tape, and small wares	— — —	— — —	3,987	265
Plate, plated ware, jewelry, and watches	— — —	— — —	52,843	3,526
Salt	3,816,805 bush.	254,453 bush.	393,950	26,263
Silk manufactures	— — —	— — —	57,741	3,849
Soap and candles	1,764,175 lbs.	117,611 lbs.	191,312	12,754
Stationary	— — —	— — —	65,120	4,342
Sugar, refined	5,428 cwt.	361 ewt.	54,127	3,608
Tin and pewter ware, and tin plates	— — —	— — —	46,846	3,123
Wood, viz: empty casks and staves	309,008 no.	20,600 no.	876,277	58,419
Woollen manufactures entered by piece	22,617 pieces.	1,507 pieces.	208,324	13,888
Woollen manufactures entered by yard	45,397 yards.	3,026 yards.	14,344	956
Woollen hosiery and small wares	— — —	— — —	124,502	8,300
All other articles	— — —	— — —	654,775	43,652
			$23,626,086	$1,575,072

Foreign Goods exported from England to the West Coast of Africa, from 1827 *to* 1841 *inclusive.*

(The values of these goods were not given, but are estimated by us approximately.)

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Beads, amber and coral	19,207 lbs.	1,280 lbs.	$9,603	$640
Beef and pork, salted	6,043 cwt.	403 cwt.	36,258	2,417
Bugles and glass beads	3,798,874 lbs.	253,258 lbs.	759,775	50,652
Cocoa	221,633 lbs.	14,776 lbs.	27,704	1,847
Coffee	182,393 lbs.	12,160 lbs.	18,239	1,216
Corn, viz: wheat flour	8,203 cwt.	547 cwt.	24,609	1,641
Cotton manufactures of India	788,932 pieces.	52,595 pieces.	3,155,726	210,382
Cowries	33,964 cwt.	2,264 cwt.		

Commerce of Africa.

TABLE I—Continued.

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Iron in bars	408 tons.	27 tons.	$10,400	$693
Iron and steel manufactures	7,762 cwt.	517 cwt.	388,100	25,873
Rice not in the husk	10,150 cwt.	676 cwt.	50,756	3,383
Silk manufactures of India	40,337 pieces.	2,689 pieces.	282,359	18,824
Spirits, foreign and colonial	3,077,054 gals.	205,137 gals.	769,263	51,284
Sugar, unrefined	12,007 cwt.	800 cwt.	90,059	6,004
Tea	53,487 lbs.	3,566 lbs.	13,372	892
Tobacco	14,648,937 lbs.	976,595 lbs.	1,464,894	97,660
Wines	163,011 gals.	10,867 gals.	97,806	6,520
Foreign goods	— — —	— — —	7,198,923	479,928
Domestic do.	— — —	— — —	23,626,086	1,575,072
			$30,825,009	$2,055,000
			14,421,569	961,437
Excess of exports over imports	— — —	— — —	$16,403,431	$1,093,563

Total declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to five Divisions of the West Coast of Africa, from 1827 *to* 1841 *inclusive.*

	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Division 1.—Senegal, on the coast from Morocco to the river Gambia exclusive	$86,389	$5,759
" 2.—Sierra Leone, and the coast from the river Gambia inclusive to the river Mesurado	6,540,379	436,025
" 3.—Windward coast, from the river Mesurado to Cape Apollonia	263,373	17,558
" 4.—Cape Coast Castle, and the Gold Coast, from Cape Apollonia to the Rio Volta	6,321,451	421,430
" 5.—Coast from the Rio Volta to the Cape of Good Hope	10,414,494	694,300
	$23,626,086	$1,575,072

TABLE II.

Value of Domestic British produce exported to Africa from 1839 *to* 1844 *inclusive.*

(From M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, p. 713.)

	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	AVERAGE PER ANNUM.
Egypt	$599,477	$382,665	$1,154,272	$1,076,654	$1,193,374	$1,946,169	$1,055,602.92
Tripoli, Barbary, and Morocco	358,523	309,295	213,570	203,047	404,111	85,861	262,400.60
West Coast of Africa	2,266,911	2,381,899	2,026,982	2,224,875	2,858,547	2,218,724	2,323,204.84
Cape of Good Hope	2,246,389	2,018,720	1,861,338	1,786,328	2,432,472	2,052,891	2,066,355.70
East Coast of Africa	— —	— —	106	— —	— —	614	124.00
African Ports on the Red Sea	948	— —	— —	1,268	193	735	522.72
Ascension Islands	1,612	— —	2,618	5,542	24,084	10,667	7,419.72
Cape De Verd Islands	915	22,007	13,963	7,163	7,632	9,617	10,217.24
St. Helena	61,311	47,838	48,337	84,845	125,061	86,549	76,510.72
Mauritius	1,024,778	1,576,930	1,552,277	1,185,122	1,248,787	1,382,546	1,344,561.72
Madagascar	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	9,670	1,609.72
Total	$6,560,857	$6,739,356	$6,918,746	$6,568,146	$8,294,254	$7,819,165	$7,050,088.44

TABLE III.

Exports to Africa from the United States, from 1844 *to* 1849 *inclusive.*

ARTICLES.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE PER ANN.
Flour	$20,991	$21,756	$26,650	$134,164	$29,286	$27,670	$260,517	$43,419
Gunpowder	52,881	59,560	51,688	38,071	58,076	57,709	317,985	52,997
Domestic cotton, &c.	149,644	137,653	149,089	131,267	162,289	164,047	893,989	148,998
Tobacco	189,330	107,024	87,248	144,331	240,141	139,097	907,171	151,195
Spirits	124,502	84,169	133,954	118,538	94,045	92,510	647,718	107,953
All other articles	103,958	115,401	104,751	134,060	177,542	195,736	831,448	138,574
Total produce	641,306	525,563	553,380	700,431	761,379	676,769	3,858,828	643,136
Foreign merchandise	68,938	79,543	78,971	44,499	61,403	31,642	364,996	60,833
Total	$710,244	$605,106	$632,351	$744,930	$822,782	$708,411	$4,223,824	$703,971

Imports into the United States from Western Africa, from 1844 to 1849 inclusive.

ARTICLES.	1844.		1845.		1846.		1847.		1848.		1849.		TOTAL.		AVGE. PER ANN.	
	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.
Bullion	—	$99,983	—	$68,254	—	$58,041	—	$114,384	—	$88,918	—	$91,098	—	$520,673	—	$86,778
Dyewood	—	36,686	—	16,931	—	17,018	—	24,286	—	10,166	—	3,410	—	108,497	—	18,083
Copper ore	—	1,977	—	4,398	—	4,373	—	188	—	5,536	—	2,811	—	19,283	—	3,214
Hides and skins	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80,096	—	168,749	—	148,825	—	397,670	—	182,556
Coffee	500,593	34,301	208,497	20,036	84,243	8,529	1,104,428	22,664	57,567	5,316	88,462	6,915	2,043,790	97,761	340,631	16,293
Cocoa	10,903	589	10,600	689	1,893	354	16,537	840	869	036	—	—	40,802	2,508	6,800	501
Dates	—	—	—	—	—	—	181,454	2,153	169,207	4,720	—	—	350,661	6,873	58,443	3,436
Nuts	698,144	10,673	150,225	2,261	—	—	349,038	8,418	848,452	16,778	150,264	4,816	2,196,123	42,946	366,020	8,589
Cloves and ginger	—	—	—	—	—	—	35,058	4,142	82,540	10,807	—	—	117,598	14,949	19,599	7,474
Red pepper	10,900	1,058	12,885	1,159	19,447	2,711	80,954	9,544	76,510	5,751	27,730	3,661	227,426	23,884	379,904	3,980
Ginger	30,987	1,616	64,712	4,495	64,884	4,983	111,913	4,342	412,987	15,907	297,914	10,806	983,397	42,149	163,899	7,025
All other articles	—	272,354	—	553,903	—	379,031	—	288,785	—	322,901	—	223,405	—	2,040,379	—	340,063
Total imports	—	$459,237	—	$672,126	—	$475,040	—	$559,842	—	$655,585	—	$495,742	—	$3,317,572	—	$552,929

Cost of Colonization.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society from its organization to December 31, 1850.

YEARS.	RECEIPTS.
1817–9	$14,031 50
1820–2	5,627 66
1823	4,758 22
1824	4,379 89
1825	10,125 85
1826	14,779 24
1827	13,294 94
1828	13,458 17
1829	20,295 61
1830	26,683 41
1831	32,101 58
1832	43,065 08
1833	37,242 46
1834	22,984 30
1835	36,661 49
1836	33,096 88
1837	25,558 14
1838	10,947 41
1839	51,498 36
1840	56,985 62
1841	42,443 68
1842	32,898 88
1843	36,093 94
1844	33,640 39
1845	56,458 60
1846	39,900 03
1847	29,472 84
1848	49,845 91
1849	50,332 84
1850	64,973 91
34 years, total receipts,	$913,636 83

The amount which was expended by State Societies, during their independent action, is about as follows :—

Pennsylvania Society, from 1834 to 1839	$50,000
New York Society, from 1834 to 1839	50,000
Mississippi Society, from 1836 to 1838	12,000
Maryland Society, from 1834 to 1850	200,000
	$312,000

The whole amount of the cost of Colonization, since the organization of the American Colonization Society, may, therefore, be set down at about *a million and a quarter of dollars.*

Table of Emigrants.

Showing the number of Emigrants sent to Liberia by the Am. Col. Society and its Auxiliaries, from each State, in the several expeditions from 1820 *to* 1850, *inclusive.*

No.	Names of vessels.	Date of sailing.	Mass.	R. I.	Conn.	N. Y.	N. J.	Penn.	Del.	Md.	Dist. Col.	Va.	N. C.	S. C.	Geo.	Ala.	Miss.	La.	Tenn.	Ky.	Ohio.	Ind.	Ill.	Mo.	Mich.	Iowa.	Total num'r.
1	Ship Elizabeth	Feb. '20	.	.	.	40	.	33	.	2	2	9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	86
2	Brig Nautilus	Feb. '21	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8	.	25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	33
3	Brig Strong	June '22	.	.	.	.	.	12	.	25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	37
4	Brig Oswego	Mar. '23	.	.	.	.	.	19	.	24	.	17	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	60
5	Sch. Fidelity	June '23	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
6	Ship Cyrus	Jan. '24	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	103	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	103
7	Brig Hunter	Jan. '25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	62	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	66
8	Brig Vine	Jan. '26	.	32	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	32
9	S'p Indian Chief	Feb. '26	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12	.	12	126	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	150
10	Brig Doris	Feb. '27	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12	.	7	72	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	92
11	Brig Doris	Nov. '27	.	.	.	14	.	.	2	65	.	22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	103
12	Sch. Randolph	Dec. '27	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	27	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	27
13	Brig Nautilus	Jan. '28	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12	.	8	143	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	163
14	Ship Harriet	Jan. '29	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17	2	125	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	147
15	Brig Liberia	Dec. '29	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	42	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13	.	.	.	1	.	.	58
16	B'g Montgomery	April '30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	1	31	1	.	30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	70
17	Sch. Carolinian	Nov. '30	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	9	.	80	.	.	9	.	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	108
18	Brig Valador	Dec. '30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	41	40	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	82
19	Sch. Reaper	Jan. '31	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
20	Brig Criterion	July '31	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	.	1	21	.	.	.	.	.	18	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	46
21	Sch. Orion	Oct. '31	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31
22	S'p Jas. Perkins	Dec. '31	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	291	47	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	338
23	Sch. Crawford	Jan. '32	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	22
24	Ship Jupiter	May '32	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	68	22	34	39	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	169
25	Brig American	July '32	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13	26	87	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	126
26	Ship Jupiter	Nov. '32	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	37	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
27	Ship Hercules	Dec. '32	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	146	22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	168
28	Ship Lafayette	Dec. '32	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	144	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	146
29	Ship Roanoke	Dec. '32	.	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	98	20	.	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	127
30	Brig American	Mar. '33	.	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
31	Brig Ajax	May '33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	5	99	41	.	1	.	.	148
32	S'r Marg. Mercer	—— '33	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
33	Ship Jupiter	Nov. '33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	52
34	Brig Argus	Dec. '33	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	12	37	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	58
35	Ship Ninus	Oct. '34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	16	.	110	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	127
36	Brig Rover	Mar. '35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	69	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	71
37	Ship Louisiana	Mar. '35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
38	Ship Indiana	June '35	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	61	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	62
39	Brig Independence	Dec. '35	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
40	Brig Luna	Mar. '36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	80	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	82
41	Schr Swift	April '36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42
42	Brig Luna	July '38	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	69	.	.	14	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	85
43	Brig Roundout	Dec. '36	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	10	23	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	34
44	Schr Oriental	May '37	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	34	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
45	Ship Emperor	Dec. '37	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	95	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	96
46	Schr Charlotte Harper	Dec. '38	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
47	Barque Marine	Jan. '38	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	72	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	72
48	Brig Mail	May '38	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	37	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	37
49	Ship Saluda	Feb. '39	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	13	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17
50	Do.	Aug. '39	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	20	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30
51	Do.	Feb. '40	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	60	30	.	.	3	.	.	.	12	.	5	.	.	.	.	110
52	Barque Hobart	Sep. '40	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
53	B'g Rulolph Groning	Feb. '41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	.	.	.	.	.	.	40
54	Barque Union	May '41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20	20	.	.	.	.	.	40
55	Ship Salnda	Oct. '41	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
56	Ship Mariposa	June '42	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	16	10	14	.	5	.	81	84	.	.	.	.	14	2	3	228
57	Barque Globe	Dec. '42	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	18	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	19
58	Barque Renown	June '43	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	77	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	80
59	Barque Latrobe	Nov. '43	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
60	Brig Lime Rock	Mar. '44	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	91	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	91
61	Ship Virginia	June '44	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18	.	58
62	Brig Chipola	Nov. '44	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21	.	.	.	.	.	21
63	Ship Roanoke	Nov. '45	.	.	.	7	.	.	.	.	.	166	13	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	187

Emigration to Liberia.

Table of Emigrants, continued.

No.	Names of vessels.	Date of sailing.	Mass.	R. I.	Conn.	N. Y.	N. J.	Penn.	Del.	Md.	Dist. Col.	Va.	N. C.	S. C.	Geo.	Ala.	Miss.	La.	Tenn.	Ky.	Ohio.	Ind.	Ill.	Mo.	Mich.	Iowa.	Total num'r.
64	Barq. Rothschild	Jan. '46	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	25	34	2	.	.	.	.	.	61
65	Barque Chatham	May '46	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	2
66	Sch Mary Wilkes	Jan. '47	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	1	.	3	.	.	3	.	.	.	11
67	Liberia Packet	Dec. '46	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	26
68	Do.	Sep. '47	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	13	24	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	40
69	Barq. Nehemiah Rich	Jan. '48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23	35	37	.	28	.	.	6	.	.	.	129
70	Brig Amazon	Feb. '48	.	.	.	1	.	8	.	.	.	28	1	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	44
71	Liberia Packet	April '48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	134	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	138
72	Brig Col. Howard	May '48	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	45	54	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	99
73	Liberia Packet	Sep. '48	.	.	.	4	.	1	.	.	15	8	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	31
74	Barque Laura	Jan. '49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9	142	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	151
75	Liberia Packet	Feb. '49	.	.	.	3	.	3	.	.	1	46	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	55
76	Clintonia Wright	April '49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	19	.	.	.	.	.	.	21
77	Barque Huma	May '49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50	131	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	181
78	Liberia Packet	Aug. '49	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2	.	11	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
79	Do.	Jan. '50	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	69	65	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	135
80	Barque Chieftain	Feb. '50	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13	154	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	167
81	Schr D. C. Foster	Mar. '50	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	35	19	.	17	.	.	.	.	78
82	Liberia Packet	July '50	.	.	.	2	.	1	.	.	.	37	1	14	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	56
83	Barque Edgar	Oct. '50	1	.	1	9	.	8	.	.	.	.	12	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31
84	Liberia Packet	Dec. '50	.	.	2	3	.	.	.	.	6	3	.	9	.	.	.	.	15	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38

Recapitulation.

Massachusetts	1
Rhode Island	32
Connecticut	10
New York	107
New Jersey	1
Pennsylvania	101
Delaware	4
Maryland	415
District of Columbia	101
Virginia	2,258
North Carolina	846
South Carolina	344
Georgia	551
Alabama	46
Mississippi	505
Lousiana	177
Tennessee	244
Kentucky	255
Ohio	45
Indiana	22
Illinois	26
Missouri	21
Michigan	1
Iowa	3
Total number sent by the Society	6,116
Number born free	2,315
Number that purchased their freedom	165
Number emancipated in view of emigrating to Liberia	3,636
Number of Liberated Africans sent by the U. S. Gov't, including 756 by the Slave ship "Pons"	1,044
Total number sent by the Society and the U. S. Government	7,160

NOTE.—The above does not include the number (about 800) that have been sent by the Maryland Colonization Society to the Colony of "Maryland in Liberia."